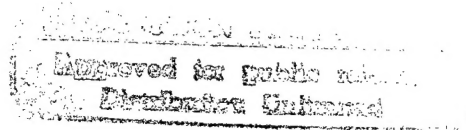


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1 March 1985



# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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1 March 1985

## USSR REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL

### RISE OF JAPANESE 'MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX' ALLEGED

Moscow ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 10, Oct 84 pp 7-13

[Article by Lt Col V. Solov'yev, candidate of historical sciences: "Japan: An Alliance of Monopolies and Militarists"]

[Excerpts] One of the main indicators of the rebirth of militarism in Japan is the desire of reactionary circles to establish a military-industrial complex (VPK) -- an aggressive union of the large monopolies which produce weapons, military leaders and their immediate henchmen in the state machinery -- in the country. Their goal is to unite the strength and influence of government bodies and the capabilities of the monopolies and national defense administration (UNO) in the name of obtaining maximum profits from the arms race and of creating stocks of weapons for conducting an aggressive expansionist policy. The implementation of these concepts, which was recently begun, testifies to the increase in the role of militarists and large financiers and industrialists who have grown rich from the manufacturing of weapons of war.

Professor (T. Kamakura), a professor at Saitama University, calls the country's financial and industrial circles the conductors of Japan's militarization in his work "Proizvodstvo vooruzheniy i militarizatsiya Yaponii" [The Production of Weapons and the Militarization of Japan]. In particular, he writes that "the production of military equipment not only brings enormous profits to the monopolies but it also prolongs the existence of the imperialist system as such... and contributes to an increase in weapons and the strengthening of the power of the Japanese armed forces during the Eighties based on a policy which was developed by the military industrial circles and their American partners".

The defense industry committee, which was established in the federation of economic organizations (Keydanren) -- the directing body of the Japanese monopolies which is often called the country's second government -- is the organizational center where the plans for the further build-up of Japan's military production are being developed. Representatives of the Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo concerns, that is, of those monopolistic associations, which had acquired experience in expanding the production of weapons during the war years and which are ready to use it again, occupy the dominant positions on the committee. Openly expressing the political credo

of the military industrial circles, (Ye. Inayama), deputy(Keydanren) chairman, has stated: "The growth in demand during the Korean and Vietnam wars exerted a large influence on the development of the Japanese economy. At the present time, although there exist production capacities in industry, there is no demand -- there can be no significant economic growth without war."

The advisory council on matters pertaining to the organization of the domestic defense industry, which was established in 1961 in the national defense council, serves as the official channel for pressure by the monopolies, which are engaged in military business, on political circles. A number of ministers, the chief of the national defense administration, other highly placed persons in the armed forces, heads of companies, and also 10 representatives of the ruling party's leadership are on it. The key positions are in the hands of the defense industry committee whose chairman is one of the deputy chairmen of the advisory council. Periodically, this council offers different militaristic plans, which influence the formation of the state's military political policy, for the government's review.

More than 1,500 companies now manufacture military products. Every seventh company, which is registered on the Tokyo stock exchange, works "for war". The majority of them are in large monopolistic associations. The concentration of weapons production in the country is rather high: More than 70 percent of all orders are submitted to 20 very large weapons suppliers.

The Mitsubishi concern is the main weapons producer in Japan. More than 30 percent of the national defense administration's orders fall to its share. The production of aviation, armored and missile equipment; artillery weapons; electronic equipment; war ships; etc., are concentrated in the hands of this concern. (Kawasaki dzyukoge), (Nippondenki), Toshiba, and (Isikavadzimakharima) are also related to the leading companies engaged in military business. These main producers of military equipment control the basic economic levers in the country and dictate their policy in politics to a significant degree. According to the research of (T. Kamakura), present military production has unused reserves -- it could produce threefold-fivefold more products than at the present time.

The monopolies, which are producing weapons, are stimulating the building up of Japan's military power mainly through their participation in the implementation of the long-range plans for strengthening and expanding the "self-defense forces". The nature of the first four plans and the subsequent programs testifies to the growing industrial capabilities of large-scale monopolistic capital for the output of military products (after 1976 the plans were replaced by sliding programs for military construction which were calculated for a five-year period).

The first plan (1958-1960) was carried out soon after the birth of the Japanese armed forces in 1954. Its main goal was the forced development of the ground forces. It provided for the formation of five army and 13 division headquarters and also for the expansion of the navy and the air force. The following tasks were established during the realization of the second plan

(1962-1966): to build a basis for the training of the military units, which had been formed, to conduct military operations which hypocritically was covered by the need "to repulse foreign aggression on the scale of a local conflict"; to replace obsolete American weapons with new ones; and to establish air defense missile units. The wide-spread expansion of the development and production of domestic weapons began during this period. A multi-thousand strong reserve for the ground forces was formed.

The third plan (1967-1971) was aimed at the immediate rebirth of the Japanese army's military might and its capability to participate in wars and military conflicts together with the armed forces of the United States. A great deal of significance was attached to improving the navy, increasing the mobility of ground force units and large units, and equipping the forces with missile weapons of domestic manufacture. The fourth plan (1972-1976) was a logical continuation of the previous one. Its main goal was to create modern armed forces and increase their military capabilities to a level comparable to the capabilities of the armies of the leading imperialist states. This satisfies the ambitious desires of the Japanese military industrial circles which demand the bringing of military potential into conformity with the economic ones. If one considers that Japan firmly occupied second place in the capitalist world based on its volume of industrial production and gross national product at the junction of the Sixties and Seventies, the final intention of the "defense plans" becomes understandable. In the subsequent militarist programs, stress was placed on the speeded-up re-equipping of the army with the latest types of military equipment.

As the foreign press points out, the bonds between the military industrialists, the politicians and the command element are growing stronger. The percentage of generals and admirals, who shift to work in the large concerns after their release from military service, is growing annually; in 1969, it was 40 percent; and in 1974, it was already 60 percent. According to data in the magazine (DAYYAMONDO), 340 retired generals and senior officers transferred to the area of military production from 1975 to 1980. A struggle has broken out between the leading companies, who produce weapons, to attract high ranking army officers of such ranks as commanders and chiefs of staff of the branches of the armed forces and their deputies to their directing staff.

The official authorities of Japan have begun to develop a number of draft laws, which are aimed at legalizing the accelerated and wide-spread militarization of the country, along the lines of the demands that are being put forward by the military-industrial circles. One of them is the draft of the so-called "law in the event of war". According to the appraisal of foreign specialists, all of its 87 articles are directly aimed at recognizing the "right to war" in the legal system and to legalize the conducting of mobilization in the country in the name of imperialistic interests. According to this draft, if an "extraordinary situation" is recognized (and it can be declared even during peacetime), the Japanese militarists receive unlimited freedom of action, subordinating all aspects of state life to their control.

The foreign press has reported that the national defense administration with the consent of the government has worked up a plan to increase the role of the joint committee of chiefs of staff in controlling the "self-defense forces". The plans of the Japanese command for the military use and further expansion of the armed forces have been placed at the basis of the final document, which the progressive press has called "a scenario for a future war". In evaluating them, foreign specialists point out that Japan's militarization has achieved a stage which opens up a main line for the achievement of a "correlation between the country's military and economic potentials". Thus, they are beginning to implement the harmful ideas of one of the "super-hawks", (S. Kanemaru). As chief of the national defense administration, he called for transforming the "self-defense forces" into an army "which must pose a threat to other states". It is from this point of view that the further build-up of its military potential is being planned in Japan. According to the opinion of foreign specialists, the build-up provides for the solution of the following tasks.

**/Increasing military expenditures./** [in boldface] Appropriations for military purposes are growing constantly in the country under the pressure of the monopolies and militarists. As the newspaper (IOMIURI) points out, Japan has seized the leadership among the largest capitalist states based on the rates of growth in military expenditures. Thus, the budget of the national defense administration grew 7.3-fold from 1961 to 1975, that is, 1.5-fold-twofold more than in several large West European countries, for example. During the fiscal years 1979-1984 (the fiscal year in Japan begins on 1 April), it increased by 40 percent, reaching 2,934.6 billion yen (12.5 billion dollars). Based on absolute expenditures for "defense," the country now occupies fifth place among the leading imperialist powers. Their annual growth is 6.5-8 percent.

It is characteristic that expenditures for the production of military items are increasing at higher rates than the national defense administration budget is growing (cf. Figure). The mechanism of the operation of this general law, which completely satisfies the interests of the monopolies, is as follows. Since military orders are being placed for ever more complicated weapons, their fulfillment requires several years. When concluding similar contracts, the government sanctions payments which must be made over the course of a number of years. Thus, the "manufacturers of death" are guaranteed incomes into the distant future and loop-holes are created for apportioning additional resources for the production of weapons. As a result, the funds of the national defense administration's supply directorate's contract section swell with excessive speed. According to data in the magazine JAPAN QUARTERLY, they increased almost twofold from 1978 to 1982.

The mentioned rates of growth of military expenditures, however, do not satisfy those who become rich from producing "weapons of war". The press reports that they are demanding a fourfold-fivefold increase in them. The present cabinet of ministers also shares these sentiments.

**/Expanding military production./** [in boldface] According to data in the foreign press, approximately 90 percent of the weapons, which are required by the army,

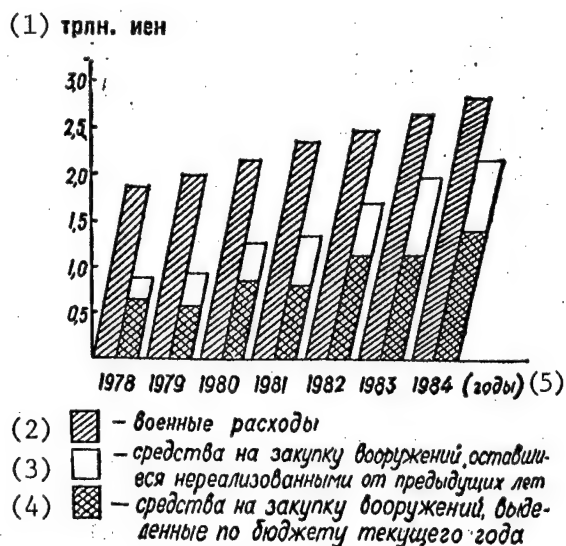


Figure. The Dynamics of the Growth of Military Expenditures and Resources Allotted for the Purchase of Weapons

Key:

1. Trillion of yen
2. Military expenditures
3. Resources for the purchase of weapons which remain unrealized from previous years
4. Resources for the purchase of weapons allotted by the current year budget
5. Years

including 75 percent of the infantry weapons, approximately 80 percent of the aircrafts and almost 100 percent of the ships, are being produced in Japanese plants at the present time. The basic directions, which were approved in May 1984 by the government of Japan for the next five-year program for the modernization of the armed forces during 1986-1990, require a further expansion in the output of military products. By 1990, it is planned to increase the number of combat aircraft in the forces; to complete the development of new fighter and attack aircraft; to expand the delivery of modern tanks, missile systems, destroyers, and submarines; and to put two reconnaissance satellites into orbit. Intensive work is being done in Japan to design missiles with a laser guided system, and preparations are being made to test their own cruise missile.

The question of Japan's nuclear weapons is being raised ever more actively. It was posed for the first time in 1969 by Ya. Nakasone who was the chief of the national defense administration at the time. Since then, this demand in some form or other has not been absent from the documents of the military department and is also repeated in the statements of the highest officials. The representatives of the military-industrial circles are also not sitting



with folded hands. At the present time, according to data in the Japanese press, the industrial potential is capable of setting up the production of nuclear warheads in a very short period. The advocates of the country's militarization are persistently searching for a way to practically resolve the question of equipping the army with weapons of mass destruction.

Japanese-American cooperation in the area of joint design and military production is acquiring broad scope. A qualitative leap in this area commenced in May 1980 when a bilateral agreement on exchanging appropriate information was concluded. In the words of the newspaper WASHINGTON POST, the United States wants Japan, which has made great achievements in the electronics area, to participate in designing "weapons of the future". Thus, we are talking about plans to violate the principles in Japanese laws concerning the repudiation of exporting weapons since they do not conceal in the United States their intentions to use the latest Japanese industrial technologies for military purposes. The country's military-industrial circles are actively expanding cooperation with American corporations: The fulfillment of Pentagon orders promises them enormous profits.

At the present time, according to data in the newspaper (NIKKEY SANGE SIMBUN), 320 joint Japanese-American military projects and license agreements are at the stage of realization. The production of F-15 aircraft in a (Mitsubishi dzyukoge) concern plant, which is now taking place based on a license, serves as an example of industrial cooperation in the field of weapons production. This type of multipurpose tactical fighter will become the basic one in the Japanese air force.

In order to satisfy their growing appetites, the "manufacturers of death" have established lobby organizations that engage in extorting remunerative state orders. Thus, (Keydanren) has four special military-industrial committees. According to evidence in the newspaper (ASAHI), the activity of the lobbyists is especially active in involving Japan in the aggressive policy of the United States and in the constantly growing arms race.

/Increasing the ideological processing of the population./ [in boldface] A full scale campaign to form public opinion has been unleashed in the country in order to justify and whip up the process of militarism's rebirth. The press, radio, television and movies, which are under the control of the monopolies and militarists to a considerable degree, are actively participating in it. In the words of the magazine BUSINESS WEEK, the goal of these propaganda measures is to achieve "a national agreement regarding rearmament, forcing the population to listen to endless stories about the increasing Soviet military threat". (M. Siina), one of the representatives of the military industrial circles, a deputy of the ruling liberal democratic party and chief of a special commission on "security matters", states that the increase in the might of the armed forces "depends on how we will be able to convince the people of its necessity". Another representative of the Japanese militarists -- retired General (S. Nagano, who is now vice-president of the (Fudzitsu) company -- echoes him. He admonishes: "We must teach the people. If we do this, they will follow strong leadership. A favorable situation for such leadership is already taking shape" even the



terminology of war time is being used when the militaristic and fascist forms of rule were called "strong leadership".

The active ideological treatment of the population and personnel is being conducted through a broad network of militarist and nationalist organizations that are closely tied to the armed forces. Among them, the so-called defense council, which was established in 1956, can be especially singled out. This was the first militaristic association that was openly founded by financial and industrial circles during the postwar period. The four leading economic organizations of Japan were among its founders: (Keydanren) -- a sort of headquarters for the military-industrial complex being established, and (Nikeeyren), (Keydzay-doyukay), and (Nippon-sekokaygise). It is noteworthy that the president of (Keydanren) has invariably occupied the position of chairman of this council. Other economic organizations are represented by advisors (five from each). The heads of 84 large firms and companies, which are engaged in military production, are active council members.

The defense council was created in the image of and similar to the American association of defense organization councils. Mutual ties were established between these organizations beginning in 1969. The directors of military business from (Mitsubishi-dzyukoge), (Mitsubishi-denki), (Isikavadzima-kharima), (Kawasaki), (Niosan), and other firms are actively supporting and expanding them.

The defense council's area of activity includes a broad range of questions. Among them are meetings and discussions of "defense problems" with ministers and members of foreign military delegations, the establishment of militarist societies, the dissemination of the "ideology of war" in different forms among the troops, and cooperation with the national defense administration in order to publicize service in the armed forces among wide sections of the population.

At the initiative of the defense council, a society for broad help to defense (Boey-kosaykay), which has branches throughout the country, was established in 1956. The society's headquarters is located in the national defense administration building. It unites more than 260,000 servicemen. In its activity, it is closely linked with the national defense administration's personnel department's cultural and everyday services section and with the national defense administration's mutual help association. The chairman is the national defense administration's deputy chief for administrative matters, and his deputies are the chief of the national defense administration's personnel department and the commanders of the branches of the armed forces. The society's main task is to publicize a militarist ideology. It publishes more than 10 newspapers, including (Akasiya), (Adzuma), (Mitinoku), (Kokoronoyu) and other military propaganda literature.

The all-Japanese league of cultural organizations (Dzenbunren), the organization of friends of the "self-defense forces" (Dzieytay-yu-no kay), the association of the defense industry, and many other organizations that include from several thousand to several hundred thousand people, are also engaged in

the moral and psychological processing of the population and army. Former national defense administration chiefs head the largest of them. Although each organization has its own audience and uses distinctive processing methods, all of them -- in the words of the magazine (Dayyamondo) -- "are trying to fill the population with a feeling of military tension," performing indoctrinational work in a spirit of frantic anti-Sovietism, militarism and revanchism. The propaganda committee of the national defense administration, in particular the information division and personnel department, organize and direct their activity. Instructional gatherings, during which questions about improving methods for ideologically influencing the people are discussed, are periodically conducted with the leading element of the militarist organizations.

Thus, the alliance of monopolies and militarists is the main force in Japan that contributes to the process of militarism's rebirth. Relying on its enormous influence in all spheres of society's life, it is setting the tone during the formation of an aggressive foreign policy and is creating the material and technical base for its conduct.

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN RADIOS SAID TO VIOLATE GENEVA BROADCASTING CONVENTION

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 84 p 4

[Article from NOVOSTI press agency, by B. Bannov, candidate of historical sciences: "Piracy on the airwaves; evidence points to the CIA"]

[Text] The Geneva Convention on the Use of Radio Broadcasting in the Interests of Peace (1938) obligates governments to do no harm to "good international mutual understanding" through their radio broadcasting. The convention calls for a ban on and immediate cessation of "the transmission of any and all programming which is intended to incite the populace of any territory to actions incompatible with the internal order or security of any of the High Contracting Parties". Articles 2 and 3 of the Convention obligate its signers to ensure that broadcasts by their radio stations are not an incitement to war, and forbid the dissemination of misrepresented information. Meanwhile, Western governments, primarily the United States, have unleashed a "psychological war" on the airwaves against countries of the socialist commonwealth, employing diversionary and subversive propaganda methods.

"The opponent has undertaken outright piracy on the airwaves", said Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "We are dealing with attempts to organize a true information and propaganda intervention against us, to turn radio and television channels into a weapon for interfering in states' internal affairs and conducting subversive actions."

Radio station "Voice of America" is Washington's main channel for subversive propaganda. With the intensification of the ideological war against the USSR and other countries of the socialist commonwealth it has ceased to take into account existing norms and regulations and has set out upon a course of open and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other countries. In order to preserve the appearance of objectivity those propaganda broadcasts which are sharpest in tone are now being justified by the fact that, supposedly, the opinions and evaluations presented therein may not represent the official viewpoint of the United States government. Under this veil the "Voice of America" propagandizes the activities of all sorts of anti-Soviet organizations and groups, justifies spies who have been uncovered in the Soviet Union and popularizes turncoats and criminals who have been deservedly sentenced by socialist justice. Numerous "sovietologists" and "kremlinologists" take part in these broadcasts; their exaggerated authority is used to "hypnotize" listeners and

force them to believe the disinformation being disseminated. The "Voice of America" has become a mouthpiece for anti-Soviet mobs, broadcasting into the airwaves their "resolutions", "proclamations", "petitions" and other such propaganda materials. Over the next 5 years allocations for the activities of "Voice of America" will increase to several times their present level. More than one billion dollars will be spent for technical modernization alone.

Similarly to "Voice of America", the British radio corporation BBC, a government semi-official agency, is presented as a "national public institute". The "public" character of this organization is manifested only by the fact that it is partly supported by money paid by the population of Great Britain for the use of radio and television sets. All foreign broadcasting is directly financed by the government. The corporation's property belongs to the government.

BBC broadcasts abound with forgeries, slanderous fabrications and tendentious treatment of public opinion. The radio station picks up and disseminates any anti-Soviet statements, regardless of their source. It does publicity work for the activity of elements with an anti-Soviet inclination and underground publications which give veiled instructions concerning forms of struggle against the Soviet government.

Radio station "Deutsche Welle" in Cologne is yet another powerful propaganda center of imperialist reaction, aimed directly against socialist countries. A total of 40 percent of the weekly broadcast schedule of the "Deutsche Welle" to the Soviet Union is devoted to cock-and-bull stories about imaginary USSR preparations for war and to distortion of its foreign policy. An additional 40 percent of the radio broadcasts are devoted to propaganda for anti-Soviet views and the activity of assorted turncoats. And only one fourth of one percent of air time is given over to information about life in the FRG.

An analysis of broadcasting to the USSR by the "Voice of America", the BBC and the "Deutsche Welle" indicates that they are coordinated from a single center. News summaries and political programming on these 3 leading Western radio stations practically never "overlap", alternating neatly between stations. In doing so the time difference in various regions of the USSR is taken into account. Thus, morning and nighttime broadcasts (Moscow time) are clearly set up with listeners in the eastern regions of our country in mind. The content of programming is also coordinated; there is effected a close interaction with subversive CIA stations "Radio Liberty" and "Radio Free Europe" and an exchange of anti-Soviet reports and interviews. The American press reports proposals to combine the "Voice of America", the BBC, the "Deutsche Welle" and "Radio Canada" into a single conglomerate with the goal of intensifying anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda.

At the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in June 1983 K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the CPE Central Committee, cited the example of one of the most brazen political provocations in which anti-Soviet radio stations have participated. It consisted of the fact that some inhabitants of Tallinn suddenly began to find letters in their mailboxes, in which the staging of a half-hour strike was called for. To the recipients it was not even clear yet who was calling upon them to strike or for what, when a great racket was raised on all Western

radio stations and in the Western press concerning a large strike which was allegedly in the offing in Soviet Estonia. Correspondents from a whole series of bourgeois newspapers and press agencies flew in to Tallinn to "reap the fruits". But this whole fraternity had seriously miscalculated. The most active republic Party members and ideologues efficiently and precisely carried out explanatory work among the populace, exposing the foul aims of the subversive action's organizers. And, as one might have expected, this undertaking burst like a soap bubble.

The obvious coordination of action between the CIA, bourgeois propaganda and turncoats and betrayers of the Motherland is observable in all similar provocations.

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CSO: 1807/168

# INTERNATIONAL

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INTERNATIONAL

ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84

[Text] The task of preserving peace on the globe is becoming increasingly urgent. It is also urgent for Asia, the continent whose peoples have been, over nearly forty years since the end of the Second World War, the target of the dangerous intrigues on the part of imperialism. The process of normalising relations on the continent has been complicated by many factors such as religious and ethnic strife, territorial disputes stemming from colonialist seizures, etc. I. Bilai, the author of the article "To Secure Peace and Stability in Asia," dealing with the subject, writes that "The policy of imperialism has been and remains the main obstacle on the road toward improving the international situation." Using concrete examples he shows that aggressive policy of imperialism is countered by peaceful policy of the USSR, other progressive forces, the policy aimed at creating an atmosphere of mutual trust, cementing friendship and cooperation in Asia.

Y. Chelyshev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, continues the topic of peace in his article "Eastern Culture Comes Out Against Militarism and War." The author stresses that many peaceful initiatives have emerged in the East, such as, for example, the Pancha Shila movement, the movement of non-alignment and others. The author singles out centuries-old traditions of social optimism and humanism, coming from the cultural heritage of the East; the Eastern peoples' constant belief in an invariable victory of the good over the evil. Y. Chelyshev stresses that the ideas of war and violence are alien to the religious and philosophic views of the Eastern peoples which think the triumph of the spirit to be genuine victory, rather than won by arms; they prefer victories won by the power of wisdom, instead of physical strength. Today, the author goes on to say, indignation of peoples at the imperialist escalation of the arms race has become even stronger; they come out for peace, justice, for the triumph of the humanist ideas. The workers of culture are marching in the first ranks of those engaged in this holy struggle, having taken over the behests of their great forefathers from among the poets, philosophers, and public figures of the past.

A strong influence of the army exerted on the domestic policy is a characteristic feature of the social life in those countries of the East that opted for a capitalist path, writes Candidate of History V. Fyodorov in his article, "The Army and the Bourgeois Authoritative Rule." He discusses the reasons



for the army's role being enhanced, and the diverse tasks facing the military and police agencies of the young states preferring a capitalist road of development.

The article by Y. Lugovskoy, "The Rout of the Japanese Militarism," deals with the aggressive plans of the militarist Japan during the Second World War. The attempts to put these plans in practice have brought the Japanese brass hats to their state being routed and surrendered unconditionally. The author emphasises that the victory of the Soviet military forces over the Kwantung army also predetermined the future of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia. One cannot help noting profound symbolism in the following coincidence: September 2, 1945, the day of capitulation by Japan, was also the day when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed. The author goes on to say that today the peoples of Asia and the entire world are gravely concerned over the rebirth of the Japanese militarism. The lessons of the recent past should serve to those who want to bring back the criminal past which started the tragedy of the Second World War.

The Soviet people stood shoulder to shoulder with their Korean friends during the hard years of war. They work together now, when the DPRK has been building a socialist society, doing selfless work at the economic front. The article by I. Lebedev, "The New Life of the Ancient Land," tells the reader about the development of a fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK from year to year. The Soviet state renders aid to the republic in such major branches of its economy as non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy, coal and chemical industries, mechanical engineering. Cooperation with the USSR is the foundation which made the DPRK capable of overcoming the aftermath of the colonial past and successfully construct a new society on their land.

A special section of the journal, consisting of four articles, is devoted to the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution. The authors, O. Dolgova and Y. Sherr trace, in their essay, the path traversed by the country since September 1974, when the feudal-monarchic regime was overthrown, and up to September this year. V. Vigand and S. Gorina deal with the socio-economic situation in Ethiopia. The country's foreign policy is analysed in the article by V. Maslennikov and Y. Sharapova. As to the long-standing, deeply rooted friendship between the USSR and Ethiopia, this is the topic A. Khrenkov discusses in his article, "Russo-Ethiopian Relations at the Juncture of the 19th-20th Centuries."

Libyan revolution is fifteen years old, which is a short period from the point of view of history; for Libya, however, it is a time of great changes, accomplishments which were unheard-of for the people deprived of any rights over many centuries. The article by A. Yegorin, "The Years of Struggle and Changes," narrates the transformations carried out in every sphere of the country's life. The Libyan leadership, the author stresses, has been consistently carrying out measures to make anti-capitalist reforms, conducted in the interests of the popular masses, more effective. The country has been following the course of cementing relations with the USSR, the countries of the socialist community, will all progressive democratic forces in the world.

Thailand, according to the local press, is going to top the list of countries exporting drugs: it has become a major supplier of "pot" to the black markets of the USA and Western Europe. An arresting article, "A Black Business" by A. Polyansky, tells the reader about the authorities' struggle against the production and sale of drugs in the country.

The people of Mozambique have been building a new life, overcoming tremendous difficulties on the path of socialist orientation they have opted for. To boost up the country's economy, improve the work of transport, primarily the railways, is one of the major tasks facing the young republic. This is what the article by A. Gorodnov, "The Steel Mainlines," deals with.

Y. Yelizarov, the journal's special correspondent, was present at the 8th International Film Festival of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held in Tashkent in summer 1984. He shares his impressions in the article emphasizing, among other things, that for the first time the films produced by the People's Republic of China, the Ivory Coast and Lesotho were shown at this representative film festival.

The life story of Kolachala Sita Ramaya, an Indian who has been living in the USSR for 40 years, is amazing. He contributed tremendously to the developing of Soviet chemistry, translated the first history of his native people, Telugu, into Russian. Candidate of History Z. Petrunicheva describes this unusual man in her story, "The Soviet Andhra," written especially for ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY.

In his short story, "On the Boards," Li Golian describes the events that took place in the first decade after the Second World War, when popular struggle for the liberation from a foreign domination was gaining momentum in Malaya, then a British colony.

A quarter century ago, a new journal, SCIENCE AND RELIGION, appeared among the Soviet publications. The atheistic popular periodical is meant for the most diverse reading public in the Soviet Union. Materials on the theory and practice of Islam loom large among the publications carried by the SCIENCE AND RELIGION. The present issue of ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY presents the article by Candidate of History T. Stetkevich, "Problems of Islam Studies on the Pages of SCIENCE AND RELIGION." The author analyzes articles written by ethnographers, experts in religion, philosophers, historians, philologists who elaborate different aspects of the theory and practice of Islam.

Indra holds a special place among the images of the Hinduist pantheon. A detailed analysis of this mythologic personage gives a chance of discovering those ancient times when some of the ethnic communities were divided and others formed, starting what is the Indo-European nations at present. Y. Maslov's article, "Indra the Snake-Killer," discusses the problem.

Sixty years ago the Soviet General Consulate was opened in Jidda. In this connection, the history of consulate relations between the USSR and Hijaz, a state now incorporated in Saudi Arabia, attracts the attention of the reader. V. Gudeva describes in her article the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Hijaz.

The sect of "worshipping the true light" is one of the many "new religions" that have emerged in Japan over the last few decades. In his essay, "In the Darkness of a 'True Light,'" V. Malyavin discloses the ideas preached by this religion, and the social reasons for expanding religiousness in the West, among other things.

As usual, the journal presents reviews of Soviet and foreign books published of late.

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INTERNATIONAL

TO GUARANTEE PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA

[Editorial Report] Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 carried on pp 2-4 a 1900-word article by I. Bulay entitled "To Guarantee Peace and Stability in Asia." Bulay points out that since World War II Asia has not known peace. Among the many factors hindering resolution of conflicts the main stumbling block is the policy of imperialism. The author accuses the United States of supporting Israeli aggression against Palestine and attempting to turn ASEAN into a military bloc. "The situation taking shape on the Asian continent proves that here exists a direct threat to peace," Bulay states.

In contrast to this, Bulay points out the USSR's consistently peace-loving policy and its participation in international meetings and negotiations for resolving regional conflicts. "One of the main directions for solving the task of strengthening peace and stability in Asia," Bulay says, "is the Peace Program of the Soviet Union, adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress and receiving further development at the 25th and 26th congresses of our party." The author reminds the readers about the dangers posed by the arms race and adds, "To the imperialist policy of diktat and subordination the USSR contrasts its policy of genuine equal rights, friendship and cooperation with the countries of Asia."

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## INTERNATIONAL

### MILITARY'S ROLE IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 9-12

[Article by V. Fedorov, candidate of historical sciences: "The Army Under Bourgeois-Authoritarian Rule"]

[Text] One of the distinctive features of social life in the Eastern countries which have chosen the capitalist path of development is the army's continued influence in domestic politics. It was only in a few (India and some others) that the change of government took place as a result of inter-party struggle and the election victory of specific parties--that is, by parliamentary means. In other words, regimes of the bourgeois-parliamentary type were established and are functioning in only a few Eastern states. The political regimes of the majority of Asian and African states developing along capitalist lines can be described as authoritarian (covering an extremely broad range from the constitutional-authoritarian regime with substantial elements of representative democracy to the military dictatorship), one of the main features of which is the considerable use of the army, police and other constraining bodies by the political leaders to the detriment of the activity and influence of political parties and institutions of representative democracy.

In spite of the great variety of bourgeois-authoritarian regimes, stemming from the particular historical features of specific countries, the balance of social-class power, the ethnic and religious situation and other factors, there are several common features in the army's political activities to secure the functioning of these regimes.

The establishment of an authoritarian government and the assignment of political functions to the army in this group of countries were generally directly related to the interest of the national bourgeoisie, then in the stage of consolidation, bureaucratic circles and the military elite in a strong, centralized government, which would guarantee the rapid capitalist modernization of society. The coercive network (army and police) was also assigned the functions of safeguarding "internal security," maintaining "stability and order" and creating the necessary political and social conditions for the accelerated development of capitalism and the attraction of foreign capital. Furthermore, the system was expected to concentrate on the suppression of leftist, democratic movements and organizations and the activities of trade unions, peasant organizations and progressive forces.

Before the pro-American military dictatorship was established in Thailand in 1958, the army and police were used for several years to suppress the radical opposition headed by Pridi Phanomyong and democratic elements in the government and even in the armed forces. The need to maintain "stability," to ward off the "communist threat" and to restore favorable conditions for activity by foreign capital was also used to justify the ousting of democratic forces by the military coup of 1976.

In Indonesia, as Soviet researchers have pointed out, the army coup of 1965-1966 had the primary aim of creating the necessary conditions for the country's unimpeded capitalist development and the maximum attraction of foreign capital and credit. The last military coup and the establishment of the military-authoritarian regime in Pakistan in 1977 were also intended to secure the interests of bourgeois landowners who had connections with foreign capital and whose influence had been diminished by the Bhutto government. Finally, the main purpose of the military coup and the army's intervention in political affairs in Turkey in 1980 was the suppression of democratic forces and the restriction of workers' rights in the interests of big capital.

Another characteristic of the countries with an authoritarian government with the aim of accelerated capitalist modernization is the rapid formation of a new social substratum in these countries under the protection of the military-police network, the substratum of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which includes many officers. This promotes more reliable control over the army by the military-bureaucratic elite and grand bourgeoisie.

A more vigorous struggle against antigovernmental armed movements has been the reason for the involvement of the army in politics in some countries. Since the supervision of all undertakings (military, political, ideological and sometimes even economic) in zones of antigovernmental activity is generally the function of the military command, the army turns into an instrument of direct influence on sociopolitical, ethnic, religious and other relations in some parts of the country.

Besides this, ruling circles in some countries make active use of the armed forces in so-called "civilian missions"--that is, projects in the spheres of education and public health, the development of the infrastructure, etc. The experience of the shah's Iran, Thailand and other countries testifies that the performance of these functions gives the military-police network more opportunity to exert the required ideological and political pressure on the population.

Finally, the enhancement of the army's political role in the Eastern countries is objectively promoted by the special position it occupies in the state. Under the conditions of factional political groups and the constant rivalry of political parties, the army usually enters politics on the pretext of defending state sovereignty, upholding national unity, protecting religious or traditional values and so forth, creating the illusion that it represents a national force standing above the competing groups and parties.

The variety of domestic objectives in the countries with bourgeois-authoritarian regimes led, first of all, to the considerable reinforcement of the army and

police (usually with the aid of the United States and other Western states) and, secondly, to the formation of a single diversified network on this basis with the most diverse functions, including purely political functions that are not usually performed by armed forces.

Some researchers are inclined to examine the political role of the armed forces in developing countries primarily only in connection with military coups or from the standpoint of the use of the army's repressive potential for political purposes. They concentrate on the activities of the military elite and do not pay enough attention to the role of the entire military-police network in the functioning of the government and of the entire police system.

There is no question that one of the army's main advantages over other institutions and organizations in the state is its ability to resort to violence or threats of violence for political purposes. The repressive potential of the army and police is used to the maximum during military coups and for a certain period of time after the establishment of the so-called "military regime"--actually a state of martial law, in which national control is concentrated in the hands of the military command. After taking charge, however, military leaders (either independently or in an alliance with civilian political forces) encounter the need to establish a political base of support for the new regime outside the army framework but under its control. History has shown that military regimes in the "pure" form--that is, those relying only on repressive methods of government--are incapable of long-term survival, particularly in countries with a fairly high level of economic development. In these states the consolidation and functioning of bourgeois-authoritarian regimes can be secured only if the military-police network is capable of performing non-military duties. The relative stability of authoritarian regimes in some countries is due to the ability of this network to perform coercive and administrative functions as well as the purely political and ideological functions that are generally performed by political parties, public organizations and civilian government agencies in states of the parliamentary type. These functions might include the following:

The political supervision of the population and the political mobilization of the masses in support of the regime;

The "depoliticization" of the population (particularly in rural areas) by means of the purposeful ideological brainwashing of the masses, generally with the use of religious or traditional arguments;

The acceptance of the role of a political organization (often a quasi-party), headed by a "national salvation council," a "revolutionary council," etc., after a coup d'etat to secure the political aims of the new regime;

The formation of pro-government parties (or party-movements and fronts), the encouragement of bourgeois parties to take the regime's side and the regulation of the functioning of the party system;

The creation of various pro-government organizations (functional, labor and youth groups) and the supervision of their activities;

Participation by officers in the work of parliaments (particularly in the capacity of appointed members) for the purpose of "legitimizing" authoritarian rule.

Depending on the specific situation, military and police agencies can also perform several other sociopolitical functions, particularly the ideological and political indoctrination of youth within the system of military education, the regulation of ethnic relations and participation in religious propaganda for the purpose of ideological brainwashing.

The performance of numerous political functions by the army turns military circles into a relatively independent political group (although it generally acts in the interests of the bourgeoisie, especially its bureaucratic and comprador substrata), the autonomous nature of which is particularly evident during periods of crisis and periods when the armed forces are directly involved in the resolution of domestic political problems. In all cases, however, the army always becomes a conscious or unconscious representative and instrument of the policy of specific classes and social strata in their attempts to secure their own economic interests, and the struggle for control over the army is often the central issue of political rivalry in the society.

The Indonesian army played the most independent role in politics (although it objectively served the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie) when it openly assumed all power in the country after 1965. In line with the concept of the "dual function," the Indonesian armed forces are expected to be the leading political force as well as a military institution.\*

After 1965 the main political bodies in the country were the Ministry of Defense and Security (with the police under its jurisdiction), the Security and Order Command (KOPKAMTIB) and the Intelligence and Counterintelligence Agency (BAKIN). Furthermore, security agencies perform a number of functions in addition to their main punitive and coercive duties, particularly the official supervision of the activities of legal parties and the censorship of the press.

But the Indonesian military's main instrument for the mobilization of public support for the military-bureaucratic regime's programs is the Organization of Functional Groups (Golkar), under the influence of the army leadership. The ideological basis of the Golkar is the official theory denying the existence of classes and class struggle in Indonesia and asserting that the population consists of absolutely non-antagonistic groups of people (with specific social functions). The Golkar program coincides completely with the views of the military-bureaucratic elite, and this is why the army and security agencies mobilize all of their strength to secure this political organization's victory in all elections.

In the past 10 years the military-police network in Thailand has displayed considerable capability in the performance of political functions. The army

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\* For more detail, see A. Yur'yev, "Indonesia: The Evolution of a Political System," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 6, 1983, P 25.



was particularly active in politics after the fall of the military dictatorship, during the period of civilian rule between 1973 and 1976 (the period of the "democratic experiment"). The state of affairs at that time (the bankruptcy of the military dictatorship and the dramatic growth of the democratic movement) forced the top-ranking officers to use the military-police network primarily for the performance of non-military, political functions and to avoid overt violence. The chief aim was to limit the scales of the democratic movement, establish control over it and prevent the masses from joining it. Measures were first taken to split and neutralize the progressive student movement. Intelligence and counterintelligence agencies closely connected with the American CIA, army propaganda services, internal security agencies, special troops, political police and militarized organizations were used for this purpose.

Within a short time, urban and rural youths were urged by the army (on the pretext of "protecting the king, the faith and the fatherland" and "building a new national ideology") to form rightwing nationalist organizations (Nawapon, the Red Bulls and others). As a result, the youth and student movement, which had opposed the military dictatorship in a united front in 1973 and had played the main role in the fall of the dictatorship, was split apart by 1976, and progressive students were in a state of virtual isolation. At this time, military circles used the rightwing extremist organizations they had created and army propaganda agencies to undermine the influence of leftist-reformist parties. All of this contributed to the consolidation of rightwing forces and the preparations for the reactionary military coup in October 1976.

A national organization known as the "Rural Scouts" occupied a special place among the organizations created by Thai military and police agencies in the middle of the 1970's to strengthen the social support of the regime by depoliticizing the population. It was created under the king's patronage for the purpose of "uniting the people and eliminating the bureaucratic barriers and political differences dividing them," but actually to prevent the spread of radical views and to neutralize the activities of leftist forces with the aid of ideological and political arguments based on traditional values. New members pledged loyalty to the king and promised to "fight against communism" or, in other words, against all forces opposing the regime. By the end of the 1970's there were 2.5 million "Rural Scouts." Their activities are supervised by the so-called Border Patrol Police (one of the important agencies in the Thai military-police network).

In February and March 1983 two "white papers" were published on behalf of Thailand's ground forces in connection with the impending enactment of two constitutional articles envisaging the limitation of the official political role of military leaders. They substantiated the army's right to participate officially in politics, because it has closer contacts than parties and politicians with the people and has more experience in carrying out government social and political programs, particularly in rural areas. After the elections of April 1983, which were held at the insistence of military circles just before the enactment of these constitutional articles, Thai military leaders retained their strong influence in legislative and executive bodies and in many political parties.

In Pakistan the army is also a permanent factor with colossal influence in the country's social development. Although the development of Pakistani politics in general has been distinguished by the alternation of military and civilian governments, the latter have always had to rely on the army to exercise political authority. The most resolute attempt to reduce the civilian authorities' dependence on the army was made under the Bhutto government (1971-1977). He created a police force and paramilitary units under the direct jurisdiction of the government, as well as a widely diversified organization, closely connected with the ruling Pakistan People's Party, the Federal Security Force (20,000 men), whose functions included the supervision of political activities by the military. In this way, Bhutto tried to depart from the unified military-police entity characteristic of the authoritarian government. He had to rely on the army, however, to suppress uprising by the Baluchis and other ethnic minorities.

The Bhutto government's inability to establish complete control over the army and its creation of military and police agencies independent of the army were some of the reasons (although probably not the main ones) for the next military coup in 1977. The ruling military clique headed by General Zia-ul-Haq took repressive actions against political parties and opposition organizations and also created new security services, paramilitary units, militarized youth organizations, agencies for the political oversight of the population and other organizations controlled by the army to broaden the regime's opportunities for political maneuvering and to strengthen its social base.

In addition to serving as a "political arbiter," the Pakistani army also had the functions of the "defender of ideology" and an instrument of the Islamization of society. But the idea of building an Islamic society is primarily a rationalization for the construction of an extremely centralized state and the maintenance of the authoritarian regime, supported by the army, in the interests of the conservative bourgeois landowners and the closely related military-bureaucratic elite.

The experience of these three countries and of other states with bourgeois-authoritarian regimes testifies that the political functions of their military-police agencies are not being reduced, and are sometimes even expanded, although in crisis situations they might naturally be only a supplement to the regime's repressive measures. In general, however, the role and place of the army in the political system are changing because the authoritarian regimes themselves are being forced to change.

It is known that the accelerated development of capitalism and capitalist modernization "from above" are accompanied in these countries by the intensification of social inequality, unemployment, the dispossession of peasant lands, domination by foreign monopolies, the colossal growth of financial debts, the erosion of traditional ethical and cultural values and so forth. Besides this, in several countries the military-bureaucratic method of governing is no longer securing the consistent development of capitalism and is even impeding the development of productive forces and exacerbating existing conflicts, not only between exploiters and laborers but also within the bourgeois class, primarily between the grand bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy on one side and the middle and lower strata of the national bourgeoisie on the other.

The imminent danger of social upheavals has forced ruling circles in several countries to give up purely authoritarian methods of government and to give their regimes a "democratic facade" in order to broaden their social base and thereby avert the danger of social unrest. But the "liberalization" of authoritarian regimes is accomplished under the strict control of the existing military-police network, which is supposed to prevent active participation by the masses in political affairs. In connection with this, the political, ideological and other non-military functions of the army do not change, and the army remains an important factor of political development in these countries. For this reason, the establishment of control over the military-police network is still of decisive significance in the struggle for power even when authoritarian regimes are being "liberalized." Furthermore, the struggle for this control could be between contending military groups, between military and civilian groups--if the latter should want to subordinate the army to their own influence--or between purely civilian groups. The struggle for control over the army frequently also lies at the center of inter-party struggle, as the parliamentary elections of April 1983 in Thailand demonstrated so graphically.

At the same time, the evolution of political systems in countries with bourgeois-authoritarian regimes also reflects the desire of the economically much stronger national bourgeoisie to operate the levers of political power and put all government agencies, including the army, under its total control. This desire is reflected in the increasing activity of bourgeois parties advocating bourgeois-parliamentary methods of exercising political authority.

In the majority of these countries, there are some conflicts in the national bourgeoisie's interrelations with the military establishment. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie has not been consolidated sufficiently in a single class of property owners with complete dominion throughout the economy to exercise its authority by means of force and has to rely on the military-police network, thereby allowing military circles relative independence, including autonomy in the political sphere. On the other hand, as it begins to sense its own strength, it resents its dependence on military-bureaucratic circles more and more and acquires an objective interest in strengthening its own direct influence on government activity through bourgeois-democratic institutions. Experience has shown, however, that bourgeois-landowner circles unconditionally cede political power to the military at times of increased activity by broad popular movements so that the army can "put things in order," strengthen "stability" and "national security" and thereby protect their interests.

In some countries the struggle between bourgeois parties and the army has resulted in a compromise taking the form of a regime with more influential representative institutions. The military-police network, however, retains the official or actual functions of the primary guarantor of political stability and the right to intervene in political affairs in the event of a threat to "internal security" (mainly from leftist democratic forces).

Summing up this discussion of the evolution of authoritarian regimes relying on the army and having the aim of accelerated capitalist development, we can draw the following conclusions.

On the whole, the development of capitalist relations and the changing balance of social-class power have engendered a common tendency toward the transformation of these regimes in the direction of the bourgeois representative government. This transformation, however, is strictly controlled. The military-police network is still built into the political system of these countries and performs a broad range of political functions. Nevertheless, within the general framework of this transformation there is also a tendency toward the evolution of the army's political role--from direct rule by military circles to the functioning of the army as a "political arbiter" and "guarantor of political stability," acting objectively in the interests of the grand bourgeoisie and bureaucracy. Furthermore, there is an obvious tendency for military circles to strengthen their position by striking out in two directions, at the left wing and the extreme right wing, and to thereby create the illusion that the army is a supra-class force.

We can assume that the army's important role in the political system of these countries (and, in connection with this, the probability of military coups, states of martial law and the temporary establishment of military regimes) will continue to exist in the future in connection with the insufficient consolidation of the national bourgeoisie, the unsolved social, religious, ethnic and other problems in the developing countries and the objective interest of influential financial and industrial groups in reliance on the armed forces to control political processes and prevent changes in the bases of the socio-economic structure.

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NORTH KOREAN ECONOMIC PROGRESS, PROBLEMS DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 17-20

[Article by I. Lebedev: "New Life in an Ancient Land"]

[Text] Mount Moranbon (Korean for "Peony Mountain") is beautiful at any time of year: in winter, when its slopes are wrapped in a dense blanket of snow and bushy conifers are seen in sharp contrast against this dazzling background; in summer, when there is greenery everywhere and the flowers which gave the mountain its name look like vivid flames; it is even appealing in fall, when nature dresses in more serene colors. Moranbon is one of the sights of the capital of the DPRK, Pyongyang. This, the historical center of the city, is invariably on the itinerary of all those who visit Pyongyang, which reckons its age in centuries. But it is a young city. And from the top of "Peony Mountain," there is a clear view of its changing appearance. Incidentally, they are also characteristic of other Korean cities. Whole blocks of new high-rise residential and administrative buildings are taking shape everywhere.

One of the sights of "Peony Mountain" is a monument filled with special meaning for the country. It was erected to commemorate Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule. The Soviet Army freed the Korean people from their foreign enslavers 39 years ago when it defeated militarist Japan's crack troops. This began a new page in the history of the ancient land--it began the construction of a socialist society. The monument to the Soviet soldier-liberators symbolizes the roots of Soviet-Korean friendship.

Two inscriptions in Russian and Korean are on the reddish-gray granite of the tall tetrahedral spire crowned by a five-pointed star. The first says: "The great Soviet people routed the Japanese imperialists and liberated the Korean people. The blood the Soviet soldiers shed during the liberation of Korea strengthened the existing bonds of

friendship between the Korean and Soviet people. This monument has been erected as a symbol of national gratitude." The following phrases are on the other side of the monument: "Eternal glory to the Soviet Army, which liberated the Korean people from the yoke of the Japanese imperialists and put them on the road to freedom and independence."

The Soviet people stayed alongside their Korean friends during the difficult years of the ordeals of war. They are alongside them today, now that the DPRK is waging a selfless struggle on another front--the economic front--and is building a socialist society.

People's Korea has substantial energy resources. There are large deposits of anthracite and lignite under the ground and hundreds of large and small rivers, a natural source of energy, above. As a result of the Korean Workers Party's (KWP) consistent development of power engineering, the republic now has a broad network of hydroelectric and thermal power stations, and more are being erected.

#### The Energy of Pukch'ong

The journey from Pyongyang to the Pukch'ong TES is short but intriguing. At the beginning of the journey we could see a precise row of fields, as even as soccer fields, and as we traveled northeast we began to see mounds of rock with isolated clumps of shrubbery and trees. After this, nature--the sculptor was more lavish with imagination but more stingy with color: The landscape grew increasingly desolate and mountainous.

At some point the asphalt highway turned imperceptibly into a road of crushed stone--we were approaching our destination. They were already waiting for us at the Pukch'ong TES, one of the republic's largest. Chief Engineer Han Sim-chong gave us a businesslike account of the history of the station and the life and work of its 2,000 employees.

"The decision to build the TES," he said, "was made in 1961. The head group of Soviet project planners and builders arrived in 1965. Six years later the first section of the station was ready for operation. The location chosen for the construction project turned out to be the right choice in all respects. P'yongan Namdo Province is rich in minerals: The station is surrounded on three sides--east, north and south--by large deposits of lignite. These are the Anjus, Tonch'ong and Komdok coal basins. There are reliable water resources: The largest river in the country, the Taedongan, flows through Pukch'ong. Fuel can be shipped by rail or funicular. Power line poles were installed long ago. The station is surrounded on all sides by mountains. This is where we get the gravel we need for the concrete sections of the TES."

Our tour of the station buildings, including the main one, around half a kilometer in length, was accompanied by the steady and loud hum of the turbines. Conversation was possible, of course, but in these surroundings there is the urge to look around in silence and see just what kind of enterprise it is that provides homes with light and heat and breathes life into plants and factories.

The room where the main control board is located is quiet--only the continuous blinking of multicolored lights and the ringing of the telephone, where a girl in a uniform answers the phone tersely. The instrument-filled metal cabinets of the station's operation control system stand in a row along the wall. A Russian inscription on the instruments of the main control board says "Made in the USSR." The generators and turbines for all of the station's 16 units and various pieces of station equipment came from the Soviet Union. Our conversation naturally turned to the cooperation between our two countries and to the Soviet specialists who took part in building the station and installing its equipment.

"Soviet power engineers and representatives of manufacturing plants," the chief engineer said, "did excellent work and helped us greatly. It was not surprising that the labor of your countrymen was highly appreciated: Many of them were decorated with orders and medals of the DPRK."

The Pukch'ong TES has a capacity of over 1.5 million kilowatts. The use of progressive and more efficient methods, however, could give the country even more electrical power. This is what they believe at the station, and they are taking sizeable steps in this direction, particularly such outstanding workers as operators Yeng Gil-su and Kim Bong-heng and repairman Chung Ho-gum, whose brigade once managed to perform a complicated turbine repair job without shutting off the generator. We were unable to interview the latter because he was on vacation, but the other two--young men--came to meet us as soon as they had finished their work. They told us about themselves briefly. Both had to work part-time in their last years at the Pukch'ong Industrial Institute, both are married and both like their work. There are many young workers of this type at the station, young men who have already served in the army and are now seriously engaged in their studies in VUZ's or tekhnikums. And several hundred of the workers and engineers have been decorated by their motherland.

"The entire collective," said Kim Ho-sum, member of the station party committee, "is making a vigorous effort to increase the output of electricity. We are also trying to prevail over nature's 'surprises.' In the winter, for example, severe frosts cause difficulties with the water supply. Although we are incorporating technical innovations, we are nevertheless striving to fulfill plan assignments."

After telling us about the collective's daily work routine and about what was being done to improve the living and working conditions of the power engineers, he said:

"Thirty percent of the station's workers are members of the KWP. We feel it is our duty to mobilize the people to attain the goals set by the sixth party congress. Ideological indoctrination and the dissemination of economic knowledge are being practiced on a broad scale. And I must say that our friendly collective displays a high level of political awareness and copes well with all of its duties."

For several years the TES in Pukch'ong has been the leader in socialist competition with other stations. It also accounts for a large share of the country's energy supply. The needs of the developing DPRK economy require



more and more electricity, "industry's daily bread." This is why a program for the construction of new TES's is being stepped up in the republic. The existing stations have already done much to correct the onesided nature and seasonal limits of electric power engineering, which recently consisted of hydraulic plants. By the end of the second 7-year plan for the development of the DPRK economy, which will be completed this year, the power output should reach 60 billion kilowatt-hours, and the figure of 100 billion has been projected for the more distant future, set for the end of the 1980's by the Sixth KWP Congress. This is a high goal, but this makes its attainment all the more important, and it is no coincidence that the people at the Pukch'ong TES are making serious and responsible pledges to do everything within their power for the attainment of this goal.

"Please give our kindest regards to all of the Soviet power engineers who helped us build the TES," our comrades in Pukch'ong said when we left.

#### Sensing the Elbow of a Friend

The Korean roads...there are so many different kinds. There are concrete multilane speedways and quiet paved highways lined by trees, like sentries, on both sides and running along mountain slopes where the orchards raised by peasants seem to have appeared by miracle. It is hard to believe that they are already providing the republic with hundreds of thousands of tons of apples, pears, plums.... The roads cut through cliffs, and anyone who rides through, for instance, a 4-kilometer tunnel realizes that the republic's road builders deserve the highest praise. During the years of people's rule, the Koreans have built hundreds of kilometers of first-rate highways, which are now traveled by vehicles equipped with the first Korean-made batteries.

The place where the batteries are manufactured is not far away. The impressive buildings of the Taedongan Battery Plant are located in southwestern Pyongyang, in its industrial zone. The enterprise was built with Soviet technical assistance on what is known as the compensatory basis. The plant is supposed to satisfy the DPRK's needs and send part of its products to our country as payment for Soviet help in designing the enterprise and for the Soviet equipment sent here. So far, more than 400,000 batteries have been sent to the USSR, to our Far Eastern regions. While we were in the DPRK, we met the Soviet specialists who are training young Korean workers at the plant. All of them are experts in their field. The manufacture of modern equipment at Korean enterprises has been a great success, and many products are now important export items and are sent to the USSR and other countries of the socialist community.

"Our plant was designed," said enterprise Director Kim Bu-huang, "by Leningrad engineers. It is a complex design, drawn up with a view to all of the latest achievements in the erection of this kind of plant with highly automated production processes. Obviously, it was not at all easy to perform this task, which was so massive and so new to us. But the help and support of Soviet specialists helped us overcome difficulties."

When the plant was being built, Korean specialists, including the director, visited similar enterprises in Leningrad, Kursk, Podolsk and other Soviet



cities. The Korean engineers and technicians also received training and production practice in our country.

The Taedongan Battery Plant began operating in April 1982. It will eventually produce 1.1 million vehicle batteries and 100,000 grids for stationary storage batteries a year. This enterprise is one of the latest vivid examples of Soviet-Korean economic interaction. During the years of people's rule in the DPRK, the USSR has assisted in the construction, remodeling and operation of over 60 industrial enterprises, which now constitute the backbone of the national economy. The vital importance of these facilities to the DPRK can be judged more precisely if we consider that they now account for over 60 percent of all the electricity produced in the republic, more than 30 percent of all the steel, around 40 percent of the ferrous rolled metal products, 42 percent of the iron ore and 50 percent of the petroleum products.

#### In the Forefront

One of the first laws of the people's government in Korea said that "the Soviet Army, which entered Korean territory for the purpose of routing the Japanese Army, liberated North Korea from the yoke of the Japanese imperialists, guaranteed the Korean people democratic liberties...and created opportunities for the quickest possible economic and cultural revival of the Korean state." And revival did come to the "land of morning freshness and calm," as Korea is often called. In addition to bringing the country literacy, enlightenment and national cultural development, socialism provided broad opportunities for the satisfaction of the people's spiritual needs. And, of course, the most popular form of entertainment in Korea now is the movie. Korea has two entertainment film studios as well as studios producing children's, documentary and popular-science films. They produce up to 300 different movies a year. The products of the entertainment studios reflect the Koreans' interest in their cultural heritage, in ancient national traditions and customs, in the heroic actions of patriots during the bleak years of the war against the American aggressors and their Seoul puppets and in the daily labor of today's builders of a socialist society. It is indicative that most of the films tell the real stories of heroes of the liberation war and the production leaders of our day.

Six movie fans formed a group in Pyongyang in June 1946, and the first state film studio was born the very next year, on 7 February. In June 1949 the first entertainment film, "My Homeland," was produced. Korean filmmakers fought in the war, helped the soldiers in their battles and inspired courageous action during the war years of 1950-1953. And their work was highly appreciated because the power of the movie's impact on the fighters could be compared, for example, to the firing of a machine-gun round at the enemy. It is not surprising that army troops were sent to help filmmakers who had been cut off from their countrymen in enemy territory during the hard days of the attack by American interventionist forces and Syngman Rhee's troops. The operation was successful.

We heard about this interesting fact in one of the entertainment film studios near Pyongyang. This is a modern, well-planned town with residential buildings

and sound stages, spread over an area of 350,000 square meters. The studio employs 200 actors, and one of the most prominent is folk artist Kim Yen-lim, who talked to us along with his colleagues at a low table, sipping the traditional Korean tea. Incidentally, it is not enough to call this actor "one of the most prominent." Kim Yen-lim is the most popular movie actor in people's Korea. He became even more famous after the 20 episodes of the TV series "Unknown Heroes," in which he starred, were shown. The series told the story of patriot Yu Ling, a newspaper correspondent who found himself in enemy territory and took actions against the enemy.

"I was a woodcutter before I became an actor," Kim Yen-lim said. "Then I studied at the Pyongyang Film Institute. I have been acting for more than 20 years. What are my career plans? The most important is to improve my professional skills. This is essential for any actor--folk artists, honored actors and those who are just taking their first steps in our profession. This is why an actor has to read a great deal and live the life of his characters."

His last words became more understandable when we learned that the leading actors in Korean movies annually take work assignments in plants, factories or shipyards for 2 months, striving for a deeper understanding of the life of the people and the frame of mind of the characters they will play.

"I would like to be a director someday," Kim Yen-lim said. "I know that many actors in the Soviet Union have done this successfully. But this also requires a knowledge of the life of the people, their worries and their pleasures."

"In our films," Yu Wong-jun, one of the republic's veteran filmmakers and a folk artist of the DPRK, joined the discussion, "we try to show more of the life of the average individual. Our film industry is now entering a new stage. We must depict reality in greater detail, portraying the heroism of the people of various occupations who are building socialism. This requires high party principles and the ability to use the language of art to mobilize the workers to reach new frontiers in the construction of a socialist society. Our plans also include movies about the revolution and about the problem of the reunification of our land. The party gives us considerable assistance. The good results of cooperation with filmmakers in the socialist countries also deserve mention."

"We have maintained productive contacts with people in the Soviet film industry for a long time. Delegations from the USSR Union of Cinematographers, including famous directors and actors, often visit our studio. We also see them at many international film festivals," Kim Yen-lim added.

People's Korea is growing healthier and more attractive. Conclusive proof that the republic's workers are successfully performing economic, scientific, technical and social tasks and living a full spiritual life can be found everywhere--in Pyongyang, Chongjin, Wongsan, Nampo and other cities. The lighted screens of television sets can be seen in urban and rural homes in the evenings, and refrigerators, washing machines and other household appliances are becoming a common part of every home.

The life of the land of morning freshness and calm, inhabited by steadfast and industrious people, is pulsating in the rhythm of intense labor. The people's successes in the construction of socialism are the result of KWP organizing work. They are also the result of friendship, unity and cooperation with the people of the Soviet Union. Our friendship was strengthened even more by the Soviet visit of a DPRK party and governmental delegation headed by Secretary General of the KWP Central Committee and President of the DPRK Kim Il-song. Our past experience convinces us that our friendship and cooperation are the foundation on which the DPRK working people were able to rely in their efforts to quickly surmount the aftermath of colonial domination and successfully build a new society in their land.

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ETHIOPIAN SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES NOTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 24-26

[Article by S. Gorina and V. Vigand, candidate of economic sciences: "Economics and Development Priorities"]

[Text] The socioeconomic status of Ethiopia, just as that of the majority of developing countries, is distinguished by a low standard of living, an archaic system of land use, weak national industry and difficulties in the accumulation of the resources needed for the acceleration of expanded reproduction. In addition, the present state of the Ethiopian economy is being influenced by a number of specific factors stemming from the country's history.

In the first place, Ethiopia is the only African state which escaped colonial oppression. As a result, on the one hand, its economy is less attached than that of many other developing countries to the world capitalist economy and, consequently, it has the potential to choose future development patterns more freely; on the other hand, it has preserved feudal and even pre-feudal production relations which have impeded the growth of agriculture, a sector still accounting for around half of the GDP.

In the second place, Ethiopia's mineral resources have not been investigated much, and it therefore cannot count on large quantities of local raw materials now or in the near future. In combination with the previous factor, this was responsible for the underdevelopment of industry, which consists of a few enterprises, most of them processing agricultural raw materials (textile, leather footwear, food, woodworking and others). Ethiopia has virtually no metallurgy, machine building, metal processing or chemical industry of its own. Power engineering is underdeveloped, even though the country has substantial hydraulic resources.

Finally, Ethiopia was drawn into a struggle against domestic and foreign reaction almost immediately after the overthrow of the imperial regime, and this naturally delayed its economic reorganization and revitalization.

The importance the Ethiopian Government now attaches to the substantial acceleration of economic growth is understandable. One of the main difficulties is the spontaneous growth of capitalist relations, engendered by the prevalence of small-scale production in the agrarian sector and the remaining traces of private capitalist enterprise in industry. V. I. Lenin repeatedly

stressed that the only solution for a proletarian (or, in the case of Ethiopia, revolutionary-democratic) government under these conditions did not consist in administrative struggle against the revival of capitalism, but in an economic policy emphasizing the establishment of government control over the most dangerous signs of capitalist relations.

The Declaration of the Economic Policy of Socialist Ethiopia, published on 7 February 1975, clearly delineated the spheres of activity of state, private and mixed capital. Banks and insurance companies, all communication systems and the media, much of the processing industry, power engineering, the railroads and ports, and around 25 percent (in terms of carrying capacity) of motor transport were nationalized. The government established some control over the operation of privately owned trucks and buses. The land was nationalized as the first phase of agrarian reform, and a state sector began to be established in rural areas.

In 1978, immediately after foreign aggression had been repulsed, the National Revolutionary Economic Development Campaign was promulgated and the Central Planning Supreme Council was formed. Since that time, six annual plans and the current 2-year economic plan have been drawn up. The average annual rate of increase in the GDP during this period has been 3.65 percent (in constant 1960/61 prices). It is significant that this increase was accomplished during a period when the earlier practice of appropriating the peasants' surplus products and even part of the products they needed was curtailed, and when defense needs necessitated huge expenditures. Elements of centralized planned economic management gradually accumulated. The process is far from complete, but its influence on the national economy is growing stronger.

Ethiopia has had to perform two extremely difficult tasks at the same time: to raise the standard of living, particularly for the peasantry, and to lay the foundations for modern industry capable of bringing about industrialization in the broad sense of the term.

The most urgent problem now is the development of agriculture, where 85 percent of the population works. Agriculture accounts for 90 percent of all exports, and the income and standard of living of the overwhelming majority of the population depend wholly on agriculture. The poorest peasants derived the greatest social and economic advantages from the revolution. Prior to this time, feudal lords appropriated not only their accumulations (which were extremely small due to the primitive farming methods), but also part of the products they needed, and this was the reason for the relatively commercial nature of the agrarian sector and for the horrifying poverty of farmers. This predatory exploitative system was totally destroyed, but the new system of commodity and monetary exchange between urban and rural areas is still in the formative stage. This is the reason for such temporary difficulties as the lower marketability level in agriculture and the meager food supply of urban inhabitants, including the small working class.

The private peasant farm, based on family labor, naturally has extremely limited prospects, but no economic, material or technical preparations have been made for a definite transition to collective farming. Immediate needs

presuppose the quickest possible augmentation of the productivity of individual labor and the use of all of the potential of private initiative. The marketability level of the small peasant farm could be raised by contracts with the government (or with private middlemen under government control) for more surplus products, by the provision of peasants with seeds, fertilizer and at least the rudimentary tools of labor and by the organization of government agrotechnical service centers for these farms.

Fiscal policy is carefully balanced in favor of the private farmer because a stricter policy would lower the level of consumption in rural areas instead of stimulating production (the small primitive farm is incapable of a dramatic increase in production). Besides this, the Ethiopian peasants still differ little in terms of income levels, and this sets strict limits on tax differentiation.

Obviously, however, the mainstream of agrarian reform in a country with the declared aim of creating the conditions for the construction of socialism in the future is the maximum development and reinforcement of collective forms of agriculture. The Ethiopian leadership is moving in this direction, but it is also avoiding the artificial forcing of collectivization, striving to establish profitable large farms rather than "parasitical" ones. Intermediate stages in the enlargement of agricultural production units are possible--for example, the organization of the joint cultivation of private plots by machine by peasant associations (the so-called local self-government bodies which made their appearance in the Ethiopian rural areas soon after the revolution), the joint sale of products and the establishment of government machine stations, livestock fattening centers and veterinary and agrotechnical services which will be more advantageous for peasants to use (for a fee) collectively rather than individually.

The fundamental resolution of agricultural problems and the eradication of general economic underdevelopment will be impossible without the development of industry. This is corroborated by the experience of dozens of countries. It is important for Ethiopia to determine which sectors can serve as the basis for subsequent broad-scale industrialization without absorbing too many resources to the detriment of the public standard of living. In the near future, there is no question that power engineering and the construction materials industry can serve as this basis. They have the closest intersectorial ties in the entire national economy. Their rapid development, for which Ethiopia has enough of its own natural resources, will allow for the subsequent development of machine building and the chemical industry--in other words, Ethiopia's own industrial production. The processing of agricultural raw materials will still take priority among other sectors.

At the present time, the growth of capital investments in the country cannot be secured merely by domestic accumulations without a drop in consumption levels. The proportion accounted for by foreign sources of financing, now close to 50 percent, will apparently not decline for a fairly long time. This does not seem excessive at a time when industry is only in the formative stage and when agriculture is not productive enough to represent a realistic source of accumulations. In many developing countries, the figure is 60-80 percent.

It is clear, however, that the attainment of Ethiopia's socioeconomic goals, and eventually its political objectives, will depend largely on the attraction of foreign resources.

Interrelations with foreign capital are still the most delicate matter for Ethiopia. Giving it broader access to joint participation with the government in mixed enterprises would be an effective way of developing industrial production quickly. It is also obvious that direct foreign investments will reduce the deficit in the country's balance of payments and allow it to acquire modern technology and to increase and diversify exports. On the other hand, the penetration of Ethiopia by monopolist capital could put the narrow interests of foreign private corporations above the objectives of national industrial development. Another danger is that broader foreign investments might be accompanied by the larger outflow of dividends abroad and a consequent reduction of the accumulated part of the GDP.

The objective laws of expanded reproduction in Africa, including the socialist-oriented countries, demand the use of foreign private capital because the refusal to attract this capital would be tantamount to the artificial deceleration of economic development. Under no conditions, however, should the socialist-oriented state relinquish any of its control over the activities of monopolist capital. Egypt provides a vivid example of the way in which the "open door" policy leads to authoritarian behavior by monopolies.

The Ethiopian Provisional Military Administrative Council has announced its consent in principle to direct investments from the West if they serve the long-term interests of national development. Western firms, however, have not been particularly active in this area (with the exception of companies based in the countries on the middle level of capitalist development). Of course, they are most eager to invest capital in mineral extraction and are much more cautious in other spheres.

Under these conditions, the resolution of Ethiopia's economic problems and, consequently, its progression toward socialism will depend largely on its present and future cooperation with socialist countries, especially the USSR.

Agriculture is the most important sphere of this cooperation: the assistance of Ethiopia in the organization of large state farms, including export-oriented ones, in the creation of cooperatives--through the services of specialists, deliveries of equipment and fertilizer, land reclamation and so forth--and in the organization of an efficient system for the procurement, storage and shipment of products.

Soviet-Ethiopian construction projects in this sector include the "Baro Akobo" project (Gambela), envisaging the construction of an irrigation network serving 10,000 hectares of land, 6 refrigeration facilities with a total capacity of 4,100 tons and grain storage facilities with a total capacity of 306,000 tons (facilities for 150,000 tons have already been completed). Besides this, assistance will be rendered in the establishment of agricultural equipment leasing stations. This will include grain-cleaning centers. Training for machine operators will be organized in these centers. The USSR is also



assisting Ethiopia in the organization of the local assembly of tractors from Soviet-produced parts and components.

As for power engineering, our country is helping Ethiopia erect the Melka-Wakana GES and electrical power lines, and in the construction materials industry a cement plant with a capacity of 600,000 tons is being built in Dire Dawa. Besides this, the Soviet Union has promised to supply the Ethiopian state construction organization with equipment and transport vehicles.

Various bilateral agreements have been concluded on other spheres of cooperation. Special priority has been assigned to Soviet assistance in geological prospecting, particularly for oil, complex ores and gold. In addition to this, an oil refinery in Assab is being remodeled and 10 oil storage tanks with a total capacity of 65,000 cubic meters are being built.

Cooperation in the training of Ethiopian national manpower has taken the form of supplies of Soviet equipment for local vocational and technical centers, where Soviet instructors are working. They are also working in the polytechnical institute in Bahir Dar and some other academic institutions. Ethiopian citizens are mastering various occupational specialties on all construction sites of joint projects with the USSR. Hundreds of young Ethiopians are attending Soviet VUZ's and tekhnikums.

In accordance with an agreement signed by USSR Gosplan and the Ethiopian National Revolutionary Economic Development Campaign Central Planning Supreme Council in October 1981, a permanent Soviet-Ethiopian working group on cooperation in planning has been established. Its main function is the exchange of experience and knowledge in the sphere of economic forecasting, national economic planning and the preparation of sectorial development programs.

This exchange takes many forms--from advanced training courses for Ethiopian planners in Gosplan higher economic educational network to the direct participation of Soviet specialists in the compilation of plans for the development of the Ethiopian economy. All of these spheres of interaction are under the constant supervision of the intergovernmental Soviet-Ethiopian Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Trade.

Ethiopia has established broader and closer economic contacts with other socialist countries in recent years, and this means that it is already experiencing the beneficial influence of the new type of cooperation based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

With the technical assistance of the GDR, a printing press has been remodeled in Addis Ababa, two poultry farms have been built in Debre Zeyt and Shola, two vegetable oil plants and two diesel power stations have been built and a cement plant with a projected annual output of 300,000 tons is being built in Magera. Czechoslovakia has opened a line of credit for Ethiopia, and this has financed the construction of leather and rubber footwear factories, a blanket factory, a tire plant and a tannery and the purchase of medical equipment. It will participate in the construction of a textile combine along with the GDR and Italy. Bulgaria is assisting Ethiopia primarily in agriculture, in line with its CEMA specialty, and in the development of the



infrastructure and geological investigations. Poland is assisting Ethiopia in the spheres of science, culture (particularly radio and television), education, sports and tourism. Besides this, it aided in the construction of a power tool plant. Hungary is participating in the development of the Ethiopian textile and leather footwear industry and Cuba is assisting in the construction of irrigation systems and roads, in the improvement of livestock breeds and the organization of veterinary services, in the development of poultry farming and tobacco production, etc.

The continued expansion and reinforcement of this mutually beneficial friendly cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis and the maximal mobilization of Ethiopia's own forces and resources will guarantee Ethiopia's successful attainment of its economic development objectives.

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LIBYAN REVOLUTION, NEW PATH OF DEVELOPMENT PRAISED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 31-35

[Article by A. Yegorin: "Years of Struggle and Change"]

[Excerpts] The military coup which was organized on 1 September 1969 by young officers and marked the beginning of the Libyan revolution came as a complete surprise even to many Libyans.

The leaders of the revolution took bold and resolute action. There is no question that the complete support of their actions by the majority of the population played an important role. Evidence of this can be found in the mere fact that the curfew was lifted everywhere within 2 days after the overthrow of the monarchy, and within 2 hours in some cities, according to the Egyptian newspaper AKHBAR AL-YAWM.

A Dream Comes True

By the beginning of 1969 it was clear to the leaders of the underground movement that they had definite strength: The patriots were supported by many of the young officers of large garrisons. There was growing dissatisfaction in the country with the authoritarian behavior of foreigners and the corrupt royal entourage; the masses were demanding a change. There were rumors that a coup was coming, and security forces and the military police scoured the country in search of rebels.

A year after the uprising, Qadhafi and his closest associates explained all that had occurred in detail in a televised roundtable discussion. They set out on the night of 1 September. At 4:30 in the morning Qadhafi and a group of his comrades-in-arms seized the Benghazi radio station, and Kharroby took control of the main municipal buildings. In that same hour Jalloud, Jaber and Humaidi seized the residences of several high-level officials in a suburb of Tripoli, and the capital garrison took their side. At the same time, the revolutionaries took charge of Misurata, Sebha, Darnah and several other large cities in the country. Special detachments surrounded the U.S. Air Force base near Tripoli and English Air Force bases.

At 7:00 in the morning M. Qadhafi read "Communique No 1" over the air, announcing that the government had been taken over by the Revolutionary

Command Council (RCC). A month later, on 14 October, Qadhafi gave his interpretation of the revolutionary slogans in an interview on Egyptian television: "By freedom," he said, "we mean national independence, excluding the possibility of poverty, colonialism and the presence of foreign troops and military bases in our country. By unity, we mean the unification of all Arabs.... By socialism, we mean Islamic socialism." Therefore, the features of the Libyan leader's future philosophy were already taking shape, and the country's future course of development and domestic and foreign policy had essentially been determined.

### In the Public Interest

In the first 3 years of the country's revolutionary development, the Libyan leaders assigned priority to two immediate objectives: the eradication of the foreign presence and the consolidation of the revolutionary regime in Libya.

There is no question that the presence of English and American military contingents in the country posed the gravest danger to the revolutionary regime. Just 20 days after the coup the new leadership announced that the agreements the royal government had concluded with Great Britain and the United States on military bases in Libya were now null and void.

The last British soldier left Tobruk on 28 March 1970. Talks with Washington led to an announcement that the Americans would leave Wheelus Field Air Force Base before 30 June 1970. They left on 11 June, when the Libyan flag was raised over the base.

After this the authorities began to eradicate the dominance of Italian colonists. They had run the country for more than half a century, and the people had fought against colonialism the entire time. This is attested to by numerous monuments erected in recent years. On 21 July 1970 the RCC cancelled all of the Italians' privileges and passed a law on "the return of usurped property to the Libyan people."

In addition to taking care of immediate "foreign" objectives, the revolutionary leadership began to work on domestic problems. And there were many of these. In 1956 AL-RAID had reported that 90 percent of the Libyans were living in extreme poverty and that 1 out of every 3 infants died of emaciation. Hunger drove people from rural areas to the cities, but the life there was no easier. In 1964 there were 120,000 craftsmen in the country, representing 80 percent of the people engaged in the production sphere, and 34,000 unemployed. The revolution took the underprivileged masses under its protection. The RCC announced that measures would be taken to solve the housing problem in the interest of the working public, that the wages of low-paid workers would be raised and that the prices of vital necessities would be controlled.

High-placed officials of the royal regime who had wallowed in corruption and graft were prosecuted. On 7 December 1969 the RCC informed the public that 30 officers headed by the ministers of defense and the interior had attempted a counter coup and had been arrested. On 24 June 1970 the discovery of a

reactionary conspiracy organized by former royal dignitaries in Fezzan, in southern Libya, was reported. At that time the local press said that 5,000 mercenaries recruited by the conspirators outside Libya were awaiting a signal. An investigation revealed that the American CIA had helped to supply the conspirators with weapons.

Speaking at a mass rally in Zuwarah on 15 April 1973, Qadhafi announced the beginning of a popular revolution in Libya, which was supposed to carry out a five-point program: the repeal of old laws, the arming of the people, a struggle against the revolution's opponents and the institution of sweeping cultural and administrative reforms.

On the orders of the leadership, people's committees were immediately formed throughout the country. By September 1974, 2,000 people's committees had already taken charge of local affairs. In January 1976 at a congress of the Arab Socialist Union, the only political organization allowed by the revolutionary regime, the formation of a General People's Congress (GPC) was announced and congress participants were appointed its deputies.

The Libyan authorities assigned priority to the reinforcement of people's committees as local agencies of the revolutionary government and to trade-union activity.

A special session of the GPC was convened in Sebha on 28 February 1977. The country was renamed Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (SPLAJ). The name "Jamahiriya" was suggested by M. Qadhafi. This new Arab lexical unit was used to denote "government by the masses" ("jamahir" means masses). It was used instead of the word "jumhuriyya" ("republic"). In accordance with a GPC decision, the RCC ceased to exist. The former members of the RCC became the members of the General Secretariat and took charge between GPC sessions. A General People's Committee was formed--an executive body made up of 26 secretaries. Revolutionary committees were formed to fight against reactionary elements. The members of these committees had to adhere to Qadhafi's analytical precepts. Several socioeconomic measures were taken in 1978 and 1979: The government established a monopoly on foreign trade, the confiscation of surplus real estate from exploitative classes for the benefit of the people began, a campaign was launched to convert government and private firms into people's enterprises and the management of these enterprises was made the direct responsibility of workers and employees.

Each administrative center has a people's committee, as the highest agency of local government, a revolutionary committee, as a "stimulator of the masses" and "controller of the revolution," and departments, sections or "staff" of controllers of central secretariats and agencies. Populated points have people's militia units in addition to security forces and policemen to guard government facilities and maintain law and order. The country was divided into 44 districts, encompassing 174 municipal regions (in 1980 the districts were combined to form 25 larger ones). The country's green flag symbolizes its devotion to Islam.

At a special session of the GPC in March 1979, 2 years after the government had been turned over to the people, M. Qadhafi announced that he and his

associates, former members of the RCC and the GPC General Secretariat were giving up all of their administrative titles and would concentrate on the attainment of the "long-range strategic goals of the Libyan revolution." The leader of Libyan Jamahiriya added that he and his comrades-in-arms would "continue the revolutionary supervision" of all social reforms in the country without holding government office.

The government relies on the network of revolutionary and people's committees in public administration.

Between 1980 and 1984 measures continued to be taken in Libya in the interests of the masses. The Libyan leadership is firmly committed to social reforms within the country and to stronger relations with the countries of the socialist community and with the Soviet Union.

#### Socioeconomic Reforms

Social and economic reforms were instituted continuously in the country during the years of revolution. The first area of concentration was the state sector. Foreign banks were nationalized. The state sector now holds key positions in the main industries--petroleum refining, petrochemicals, machine building and construction materials production. By the end of 1983, for example, the state sector accounted for more than 80 percent of the country's industrial product and all capital investments in the national economy.

Libya's main resource is oil. In 1984 known reserves totaled around 3 billion tons. The oil "boom" began here in 1955, when a gusher produced 85 tons of high-quality "black gold" in a single day.

At the time of the revolutionary victory, an offensive was launched against the foreign monopolies that had been stealing the country's oil resources. On 15 March 1970 the RCC formed the LINOCO oil corporation and all means of transporting oil were nationalized and turned over to LINOCO. This was followed in 1971-1973 by the nationalization of the property of foreign oil companies, 51 percent of whose assets were turned over to the Libyan Government. During the years of revolution, Libya earned around 150 billion dollars from the sale of oil, and this made it possible to institute impressive reforms in the country.

In 1972 the first 3-year plan for economic development (1972/73-1974/75) was adopted. Its chief aim was the establishment of the foundations of a national agroindustrial complex and the further restriction of activity by foreign monopolies. Although the plan was fulfilled by only 85 percent, it proved that the Libyan people were capable of carrying out sweeping economic reforms.

The chief aim of the first 5-year plan (1976-1980) was the continuation of the consistent development and consolidation of the national economy. This plan was fulfilled by only 90 percent. During the 8 years when these two plans were being carried out, 60 large industrial enterprises were built, a broad assortment of domestic products began to be manufactured and positive advances were apparent in agriculture.

In accordance with the second 5-year plan (1981-1985), the average annual rate of economic development is supposed to be 9.4 percent in general, 21.6 percent in industry and 7.4 percent in agriculture.

A 10-year agricultural development program was completed in 1983. As a result of this, the country is using its own resources to satisfy 90 percent of its demand for wheat, 100 percent of its demand for barley and eggs, 75 percent of its demand for meat, 85 percent of its demand for fruit and 95 percent of its demand for milk. Several new land development projects, especially in the Sahara Desert, are scheduled for completion before 1995.

Before the revolution the majority of Libyans (78 percent) were illiterate. The RCC took vigorous action to eradicate this legacy from the past. It spent more than 8 billion dollars just on the development of secondary education during the 15 years after the revolution (the royal regime had allocated only 95 million dollars for this purpose in 1963-1969). The number of schools rose from 1,279 in 1969 to 3,606 in 1981--that is, it almost tripled--and the number of students rose from 325,483 to 904,747 (it also almost tripled). By the end of 1985 the number of students should reach 1.25 million and the number of illiterate people should be reduced from 180,000 (in 1980) to 160,000.

Libya now has 81 higher academic institutions, attended by 18,000 young men and women. The enrollment figure for the last 5 years was 51,600. The country's largest VUZ's are the Al Fateh University (in Tripoli) and the Ghar Yunis University (in Benghazi), with around 15,000 students. Besides these, there are 9 technical and 11 agricultural VUZ's and other higher academic institutions.

During the years of revolution, 220 libraries were opened. The largest are the libraries in Tripoli, Benghazi, Darnah, Al Baydah, Tobruk, Misurata and Sebha. In addition, 25 centers for the dissemination of knowledge and an equal number of cultural centers were established. Folk theaters and the folklore groups which were formed in the country's large cities became popular. State dramatic companies and song and dance troupes began touring oases and rural communities in 1975. International art festivals are held each year.

The Libyan Government allocates large sums for the development of public health care. Per capita medical service expenditures in 1981 were 100 dollars (18 dollars in 1969). In 1981 there was 1 physician for every 750 people in Libya and 7 hospital beds for every 1,000 people (in 1970 there was 1 physician for every 2,500 people and 3 hospital beds for every 1,000). The country now has 80 hospitals, the same number of medical centers and first aid stations, 150 TB clinics and the same number of maternity care clinics. Medical services for the population are free.

The status of Libyan women warrants special attention. Of course, some Libyan women still swathe themselves from head to toe, leaving only a small slit to see through, when they go outside. They are following ancient traditions. But the attitude toward them is changing. In the 1980/81 academic year, for example, more than 400,000 girls attended schools on all levels, more than 12,000 were enrolled in pedagogical institutes and around 5,000 of the university students in Tripoli and Benghazi were women. A women's military college

has been opened in Tripoli. "Social centers" and all types of women's courses have been established throughout the country. Women now work in government establishments, are members of revolutionary and people's committees and attend GPC sessions. Old customs are slowly but surely succumbing to the pressure of the new way of life. And this is also one of the achievements of the revolution of 1 September.

Not everything in Libya is going as smoothly as the revolutionary leadership and the broad masses would like. Above all, well-to-do strata, whose interests were injured most by the revolution, are still resisting government undertakings. Most of the property of the formerly wealthy Libyans has been expropriated, but they are lying in wait and hoping for "better times," and some are even trying to "put a spoke in the revolution's wheels" by taking advantage of the occasional difficulties and excesses of revolutionary committees. The economic pressure of Western nations, especially the United States, is perceptible in the country. They are erecting artificial barriers to block the delivery of goods to Libya, including shipments of food and vital necessities, although Jamahiriya pays for these in advance.

Due to the manpower shortage, some of the new enterprises are not operating at all and around one-third are not operating at full capacity. There are not enough teachers, physicians, qualified administrators and industrial and agricultural specialists. This means that the Libyan leadership has to make extensive use of foreign specialists (there are around half a million of these in a country with a population of 3.2 million, and their maintenance costs are equivalent to 15 percent of the GNP). There have been delays in the reorganization of the economic structure, resulting in additional difficulties, confusion and, of course, material losses. In 1983 the oil output declined by 50 million tons and revenues were one-third lower than the 1982 figure. This forced the government to postpone several 5-year-plan construction projects and institute some social reforms.

The cost of maintaining the administrative network is still high (more than 5 billion dollars a year). These and other difficulties, which are frankly admitted in Libyan Jamahiriya, are certainly surmountable. At present, however, they do exist and they are a matter of special concern to the revolutionary leadership and to progressive forces in the country.

In the past, when monarchic Libya was in the orbit of imperialism's neocolonial policy, it made an effort to establish broader international contacts--economic, political, military, cultural, etc.--primarily with Western countries. At that time Tripoli did not try to develop relations with the USSR and they were virtually frozen.

The triumph of the revolution was followed by different tendencies. By April 1970 (half a year after the coup) a representative Libyan delegation visited the Soviet Union to discuss a broad range of topics. In March 1972 A. S. Jalloud signed an agreement in Moscow on behalf of Libya on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between our countries. In August 1979 the first Soviet-Libyan construction project was completed--a 190-kilometer power line. In 1981 the Libyans received documents on the findings of a Soviet soil-ecological expedition which conducted geobotanical and soil studies on



an area of 3.5 million hectares and compiled maps needed for the development of Libyan agriculture. The construction of a nuclear research center in Tajur, a suburb of Tripoli, was completed the next year. A 570-kilometer gasline from Marsa Brega to Misurata is nearing completion.

The Soviet people are also assisting their Libyan friends in many other construction projects.

As soon as the flag of freedom had been raised over Libya, the country became the target of attacks by imperialist powers, especially the United States. This was followed by a series of discriminatory measures: In 1975 the United States announced the postponement of deliveries of American equipment to Libya, although payment had been made in advance. In 1976 the State Department announced the cancellation of aircraft sales. In 1981 a CIA plan to overthrow the Libyan leadership was leaked to the press. In 1982 President Reagan announced an economic blockade of Libya and the recall of 2,000 American specialists from this country.

In 1984 Libya, which had severed diplomatic relations with the United States in 1979, demanded a meeting of the UN Security Council to "discuss the deterioration of regional affairs as a result of hostile and provocative U.S. behavior." The Security Council censured these actions, but Washington did not stop them. Secretary of State Shultz made an announcement for the USIA Worldnet television network in April, asking the United States' allies to take collective actions against Libya. After this, the aircraft carrier "Saratoga," which had taken part in the provocative maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra, was sent to the shores of Libya. When the deployment of an American "first-strike" nuclear weapon in Sicily was reported, the Libyan leadership interpreted this as a threat to Libya's security: The Libyan people have resolutely opposed the aggressive U.S. efforts to escalate tension throughout the world, including the area adjacent to Jamahiriya's borders.

Rebuffing the imperialist blackmail, the leader of the Libyan revolution, M. Qadhafi, made the following announcement during the festivities marking the 14th anniversary of the withdrawal of American troops from the country: "The United States is the worst enemy of Libya and of all Arabs. It has raised international terrorism to the status of its government policy and has assumed the role of world policeman. This state has no friends. It can have only enemies or slaves."

The Libyan people have chosen the path of independent development and they have not diverged from this path since the dawn of 1 September 1969.

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INTERNATIONAL

THAILAND SEEN TO PLAY KEY ROLE IN ILLEGAL DRUG TRAFFIC

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 36-39

[Article by A. Polyanskiy: "Illegal Dealings"]

[Excerpts] The nervous behavior of two young Dutch tourists returning to their country from Thailand attracted the attention of customs officials in Bangkok's Don Muang Airport. A thorough search of their luggage proved that their suspicions were not unfounded. The "tourists" were going to take 11 kilograms of heroin out of Thailand. The sale of this commodity in Western Europe would have earned them and their bosses tens of thousands of dollars....

"Kings" and "Couriers"

Reports of this kind can be found in Thailand's newspapers almost every day. According to the local press, Thailand will soon lead the world in the production of narcotics and it is already the main supplier of these drugs to the U.S. and West European black-market. And there the demand for them is rising each day. In the United States alone, addicts use around 10 tons of heroin a year.

This criminal business has become a real gold-mine for people inside and outside Thailand who are involved in opium production and trade. The agents of syndicates in Thailand buy raw opium, make heroin out of it and then send it overseas for profitable sale. Their "couriers" are often tourists recruited for this purpose, unscrupulous businessmen and traveling hippies with a weakness for drugs. This mission was frequently taken on by the former American warriors in Vietnam, who had nothing special to do and roamed the Asian countries in search of easy ways to make money.

Slick dealers have invented the most ingenious methods of transporting heroin: They camouflage their "cargo" in exotic Thai artifacts of wood and ivory or sew little bags filled with heroin into their clothing. The suitcase with a false bottom became an anachronism long ago for these commercial travelers.

One Japanese tourist passed out on the way from his hotel to the airport and was taken to the hospital, where he died a few hours later. An autopsy revealed several plastic bags filled with heroin in his stomach. One had split open and had caused a severe case of poisoning. In this way, the

"tourist" paid with his own life for this "original" method of carrying narcotics.

The drug trade is strictly proscribed by Thai law. Many local citizens and foreigners have been sentenced to long prison terms. Some repeat offenders have received the death penalty. This is why the dealers have to constantly perfect their methods. Their conspiracies could be the envy of an established espionage organization. The opium dealers have fake identification papers, passwords, aliases, secret hide-outs....

"I do not know the names of the people who gave me the heroin or of those to whom I was supposed to deliver it in Copenhagen. They told me to check into a certain hotel in the Danish capital and to stay there a week. Someone was supposed to come to the hotel to pick up the drugs and pay me for transporting them." This confession by one of the unlucky "couriers" was made public only after no one came to pick up the valuable shipment during a lengthy police stake-out of the Copenhagen hotel. Apparently, the opium syndicates have an extremely efficient system to monitor and check up on their "couriers" en route.

The thirst for profits and the fear of exposure cause opium dealers to commit the most inhuman crimes. When the home of the owner of an underground opium laboratory in the capital's Thon Buri neighborhood was raided, the police found a 6-year-old girl chained to the wall. She was the daughter of the master of the house. A year before the child had been an unwilling witness to her father's criminal activity. He was afraid that she might tell the neighbors and decided to chain her up. All of this caused her to suffer severe mental disorders.

Many of Thailand's "drug kings" have set up their businesses in the provinces of Chaing Mai and Chiang Rai. There it is easy for them to bribe corrupt local officials and policemen. The press reported the arrest of several policemen who had connections with drug dealers and protected their illegal business. Two former members of the Thai parliament who had been making a living off the opium trade for years were tried in a Hong Kong court.

#### Injectons in the Toilet

Drug addiction is one of Thailand's most serious problems. There are more than 600,000 addicts in the country, and two-thirds of them live in Bangkok. Young people between the ages of 16 and 24 represent 60 percent of the drug users. Each year the number of addicts in Thailand increases by 5,500 on the average. Drug abuse has recently become widespread among young students, primarily college and university students.

Drug addiction has a strong effect on social and public affairs in the country. It is one of the main reasons for the high crime rate. The studies of a government drug abuse prevention agency indicated that 70 percent of the criminals in Thailand are drug addicts. Many of them committed grave crimes for money to buy drugs.

The Thai government has paid out large sums to establish special clinics for the treatment of addicts. Several such establishments have been opened in Bangkok in recent years.

In spite of the strict measures the government has taken to combat addiction, drugs are sold widely in the capital and many other parts of the country. There are opium-dens in some Chinese restaurants in Bangkok. Suspicious-looking individuals carrying small suitcases frequent bars. Furtively looking all around and speaking in whispers, they offer to give clients injections in the bar toilet. They always find customers.

Extensive preventive work is being conducted in Thai schools, universities and industrial enterprises to stop drug abuse. People who offer drugs to juveniles are severely punished.

But the spread of drug addiction in the country has deep social roots. The low standard of living, the oppressive living conditions and the mass unemployment cause many Thai, especially the young, to resort to drugs for at least temporary oblivion and escape from their constant troubles.

The local press reported several times that the rate of drug addiction in the country began to rise quickly during the period of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. After all, there were more than 50,000 American servicemen on bases in Thailand at that time. The overseas warriors regularly came to Bangkok from South Vietnam "for a rest." And they were quite familiar with marijuana and heroin. They were the ones who "started the ball rolling" in the mass-scale drug abuse in Thailand.

Opium poppies are grown in remote regions, on mountain slopes and in valleys. Special plots are chosen for these plantations, and the location is changed every 3 or 4 years. The authorities have no control here. In most cases, only the owners of the plantations know where they are located.

#### Opium Caravans

At a certain time of the year, peasants cut a notch in the juicy green head of the poppy. White droplets ooze out of the cut. This is the opium. When it dries, it is collected and prepared for shipment.

"Clients" of long standing, most of them Chinese, buy the raw opium from the mountain tribesmen for next to nothing. After this, the dealers are faced with a difficult task: They have to get the commodity out of the mountains. After all, most of the laboratories where the raw opium is turned into heroin are located far away from the plantations, primarily in the cities and towns of Thailand's northern and northeastern provinces.

Entire armed brigades are formed to transport the opium. Hoisting sacks filled with the precious cargo onto their backs, the members of the "opium expedition" set off on their difficult and dangerous journey. It always includes many steep mountain passes and swift rivers. In addition to carrying the heavy load of opium, each has an American M-16 rifle with extra ammunition, and perhaps even a few grenades. After all, the smugglers could run into patrolling

government troops and police or rival gangs hunting for this kind of caravan with the aim of stealing the valuable cargo. They do most of their walking at night so that they will not be seen from the air by military helicopters.

After the group reaches its destination, the opium laboratory, the boss rewards his suppliers generously and they set off for nearby cities to go on a drunken spree and find some pleasure.

After complex chemical processing in the laboratory, the raw opium becomes heroin, which has recently become the most popular drug in the United States and Western Europe.

Now transporting the drugs does not seem as difficult. After packing plastic bags filled with the "white poison" in a suitcase, the dealer sets off for Bangkok, where his customers are waiting for him and are ready to ship the commodity overseas.

This was the subject of a recent Thai movie called "The Golden Triangle." It told the story of a fearless policeman who infiltrated a gang of drug dealers and later exposed them. In this film, which copies the style of American hit movies, the viewer sees mercenary and heartless dealers who treat one another and their subordinates brutally. It depicts the sad story of some Thai who have to join a gang of opium smugglers in order to make a living.

The movie evokes automatic doubts about the possibility of such events in our day. Is this all a product of the writers' imagination, having nothing in common with reality?

But a review of the movie in the local press said that the writers were telling the absolute truth. When they were working on the screen-play, they used the documents and papers of the Thailand Ministry of the Interior.

It is true that there is fierce competition between various groups involved in the opium trade in Thailand's northern provinces. Entire armed detachments fight bloody battles with one another. For example, the settlements of former Kuomintang supporters are fortified camps. All of the men here have firearms and undergo military training. Opium poppy plantations and heroin laboratories are under armed guard.

Government troops and police sometimes avoid conflicts with the armed detachments of opium traders. Operations to break up opium caravans are usually unsuccessful.

The authorities have no control over many remote regions of Thailand. The "opium kings" rule these territories with impunity and pay no attention to provincial officials or the central government.

All attempts to prohibit the cultivation of opium poppies and to destroy plantations in inaccessible and uncontrolled regions have been unproductive. This is why repressive measures are only taken against the middlemen in the opium trade.

Some foreigners who do not know enough about the state of affairs in Thailand believe that the simplest way of putting an end to the illegal drug trade would be to prohibit the raising of opium poppies and to destroy the plantations on this basis. At first glance, this seems realistic: Large military subunits could be sent to the mountains to kill the poppy plants, and helicopters could spray the plantations with toxic chemicals.... But this is a utopian idea because it is impossible to establish control over a territory larger than some European countries, a mountainous and inaccessible territory with no roads.

Troops sent to destroy the illegal plantations might be fired on by people who would be acting in self-defense and would never understand why the harvest representing their only means of survival was being taken away from them.

"What would be the reaction," for example, of winegrowers in France, Italy or California," a high-placed Thai official working on the prevention of drug abuse said, "if troops were to enter their vineyards and unceremoniously begin destroying them, saying that their products were injurious to human health?"

Actions of this kind could sentence half a million people in this region to starvation. The tribes here live according to the customs of their grandfathers. Opium poppies have been grown in these regions since the beginning of this century. It is their only crop and their only real bread-winner. They sell the opium to illegal dealers but the peasants see them as ordinary merchants. Why should they not grow opium poppies and sell the opium if this gives them their maximum income? Furthermore, in places where the harvest has to be carried on the peasant's back, preference is given to whatever weighs the least. According to the rate of exchange in Thailand, a kilogram of raw opium is equivalent to a ton of beans.

#### Coffee Instead of Poppies?

One means of combating the production of narcotics is the replacement of opium poppies with other agricultural crops which could be grown profitably by peasants. The first steps in this direction were taken with the aid of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

In 1973 the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs decided to institute a special program in Thailand for work with the people traditionally engaged in the cultivation of opium poppies. Experiments were conducted in Chiang Mai Province, inhabited by ethnic minorities, primarily the Meo tribes. The program envisaged the cultivation of agricultural crops instead of opium poppies in these regions. Peasants were given loans to buy seeds, fertilizer and agricultural equipment. Poppy plantations were destroyed in a number of rural communities and the peasants began to grow coffee, potatoes, wheat, rice and beans instead.

The program produced definite results. The peasants' income from the sale of agricultural products, particularly coffee, was much higher than the payment they received for opium from local and foreign traders.

The head of the project, Dr. I. Williams, served me some strong aromatic coffee in his office.

"Try the coffee from our first harvest," he said with a smile. "Last year 2.5 tons of coffee beans were picked on the new plantations. In the future we hope to grow this crop on a larger area. After all, many members of the tribes have been convinced that this is to their benefit. For example, the coffee harvested on 1 rai\* costs more than 900 American dollars, whereas the raw opium from the same area produces only 300 dollars. The peasants can also earn a substantial income from other food crops. For this reason, we are trying to convince the population of the advantages of growing other crops instead of opium poppies. But they can only be convinced of this through their own experience. This is why the program is taking so long."

My host, a hearty gray-haired Englishman, walked over to a map. The villages where work is being conducted in accordance with the UN program to discourage the cultivation of opium poppies were marked on the map.

"You can see that our zone of activity is quite small. We have instituted the program in only 30 villages, but, as you know, opium is grown here by the inhabitants of over 3,000 villages. And the region where we are working is controlled by the authorities. This has made our job much easier."

"You must have encountered significant difficulties."

"Yes. First I should tell you that the people here are almost all illiterate and extremely superstitious. Many peasants cannot even conceive of growing anything other than opium poppies. It took a great deal of effort to change their minds. In all honesty, I must say that at first I thought they were just waiting for us to leave so they could go back to their familiar ways. Besides this, opium traders did everything they could to discredit our program from the very beginning. They frightened the peasants by telling them that their refusal to grow opium poppies would lead to absolute destitution and starvation. Unfortunately, the people in other villages nearby are still quite suspicious of the program."

"Will the work be continued?"

"This is a difficult question to answer. The purpose of the experiment was to prove that the tribes in this region could stop growing opium poppies. It would be virtually impossible to do this same work everywhere the poppies are grown, and I do not know if this is a realistic objective for the near future. After all, our experiment alone cost over 20 million dollars. I cannot even imagine how this work would be done in other regions. I can only say one thing: Our program has come to an end and we will be leaving Thailand soon...."

The program has come to an end. It proved that the people who are now raising opium could grow accustomed to peasant labor. But after all, this was only

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\* A unit of land measurement, equivalent to 1,600 square meters.

an experiment, and it is difficult to say whether this experiment could become a weapon in the fight against these illegal dealings in the future.

For now, opium caravans are still making their way along mountain roads and paths, the work is still in full swing in underground heroin laboratories at night, and hundreds of "couriers" are suppressing their fear of customs officials in Bangkok, Paris, London and New York so that they can carry their lethal cargo to all parts of the world.

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INTERNATIONAL

ISLAMIC STUDIES SEEN AS RELEVANT TO CURRENT PROBLEMS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 54-55

[Article by T. Stetskevich, candidate of historical sciences: "Islamic Studies in NAUKA I RELIGIYA Magazine"]

[Excerpts] A new Soviet magazine, NAUKA I RELIGIYA, began to be published 25 years ago. This popular-science atheistic publication was designed for the broadest range of readers and its circulation now exceeds 400,000.

The acute philosophical problems that have always been the subject of inquiry are discussed in the magazine. Its articles are often distinguished by such a thorough analysis of various topics that they can rightfully be regarded as genuinely scientific studies.

Articles on the theory and practice of Islam occupy a prominent place in issues of NAUKA I RELIGIYA. And this is not surprising: Islam is one of the most widespread religions in the world. The regions inhabited by its adherents, the Muslims, cover a vast territory, but the main region consists of the countries of the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia. In the USSR this religion is still practiced by part of the population of the republics of Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Transcaucasus and some parts of the RSFSR.

Soviet Islamic studies have traveled a long and complex path of development from purely academic investigations to contemporary scientific analyses based on Marxist-Leninist methodology and combining analytical research with the practical objective of cultivating a materialist view of the world in all Soviet people.

The new generation of Islamic scholars had the strong foundation laid by the works of V. V. Bartol'd, A. Ye. Krymskiy, I. Yu. Krachkovskiy, V. A. Gordlevskiy, A. A. Semenov, A. E. Shmidt, Ye. E. Bertel's and other Orientalists. Today's Islamic studies in the USSR are represented by hundreds of researchers working in all of the country's large centers of Oriental studies. Many of them have written articles for NAUKA I RELIGIYA. The development of Islamic studies,



the problems these scholars faced and the ways in which they resolved them can be traced in these articles.

Ye. A. Belyayev (1895-1964) occupies a prominent place among the experts on the more pertinent aspects of the history of Islam and its current status in the USSR and abroad.

This renowned Arab and Islamic scholar was a member of the magazine's editorial staff for several years. He successfully combined a profoundly scientific approach to the study of Islam with an understanding of the objectives of atheistic indoctrination.

As we know, Islam entered our country by different routes and at different times. The synthesis of pre-Muslim beliefs and Islam created religious forms which were often quite far removed from the "classical" faith. One of the local features of Islam is the worship of saints, a form of worship alien in principle to this monotheistic religion which came into being and developed in a struggle against idolatry. Many "holy" mazars and "sacred" streams, trees, mountains, caves and rocks attracted pilgrims hoping for a cure or the fulfillment of their wishes.

The thorough study of each "holy place" and the disclosure of the reasons for its worship removes its cloak of mystery and separates myth from historical fact. This is the job of ethnographers, who are not usually called Islamic scholars because their field of study is generally much broader. In fact, however, they have made a significant contribution to Islamic studies because they investigate the more viable and more complex forms of Islam's present existence.

Many researchers have taken an interest in the modernization of Islam in the USSR. The most complete description of this evolution can be found in a series of articles by N. Ashirov (1971, Nos 3, 4, 6, 7).

In addition to researching other sources, N. Ashirov made extensive use of articles by Muslim theologians in the journal MUSUL'MANE SOVETSKOGO VOSTOKA and Friday sermons in the mosques in his detailed analysis of the activity of Muslim clerics. He revealed the deep-seated reasons for the modernization of Islam, stemming from the fundamental changes in the life of our country's people after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The inhabitants of the former backward outlying districts of tsarist Russia began a new life in which there was no room left for the exploitation of others or for ethnic and religious oppression. The cultural revolution eradicated illiteracy and gave the people of the Soviet East educational opportunities and an acquaintance with world culture. Historic changes of unprecedented scales changed their view of the world, which had previously been totally subordinate to Islamic dogma.

Despite all of the distinctive features of Islam in the USSR, this religion has retained the main dogmatic principles, commandments, rituals and holidays that any Muslim living anywhere must observe. All of them made their appearance in an era separated from ours by 13 centuries, and even though the present level of Islamic studies is quite high, many of the aspects of the origins of

this religion, the development of its dogmas and its methods of worship have not been investigated sufficiently.

For a long time Islamic scholars argued about the social roots of Islam--some believed that the religion was a product of the slaveholding order while others connected its appearance with the establishment of feudalism. Today it is obvious that Islam was the product of the transitional era when tribal relations and patriarchal slavery existed in society and feudal relations were in their embryonic stage.

The journal contributed to the resolution of this problem by publishing Ye. Frolova's article "Early Islam, Its Social Essence and Its Historical Role" (1971, No 10). Ye. Frolova described the role of the merchant element in the development of Islamic social doctrine.

The fundamentals of the Islamic religion are set forth in the Koran. Muslims still regard the Koran as a divinely inspired book in which Allah explained the past and present and predicted the future. The study of the Koran is one of the most difficult and most important functions of Soviet Islamic scholars. It would be impossible to understand the Muslim religious outlook or the Eastern culture and way of life without a thorough analysis of the Koran. Academician I. Yu. Krachkovskiy, the head of the Soviet school of Arab studies, spent more than 30 years translating and analyzing the Koran. His work is being continued by his students and successors. They are working on a new translation of the Koran and are studying the terminology and language of the Koran and its influence in Arab literature.

A. Ye. Bertel's article "The Force of Tradition (One of the Reasons the Koran Is Revered in Our Day)" (1975, No 4) occupies a special place among the studies of the Koran. Written by a prominent Soviet Orientalist, it responds to one of today's urgent needs--an understanding of the foundations of the Koran's authority among Muslims and of the reasons for its continuing influence in various spheres of Eastern life. A. Ye. Bertel's examines the religious tradition of reverence for the Koran with a view to the reasons for its appearance and the conditions under which it functioned for many centuries in a society striving to make it the focus of cultural, intellectual and linguistic development.

Articles about the present state of religion abroad can always be found in the magazine. Many deal with Islam: After all, around 800 million Muslims live in various Asian and African countries. Islam is the state religion in 28 countries, and Iran, Pakistan and Mauritania even have the official title of "Islamic states." Islam plays a specific role in the government policy of each of these countries, however, depending on the socioeconomic and political order and the system of government. Articles by Islamic scholars specializing in ethnography or the study of various Eastern social currents and the activities of Muslim organizations and parties provide an understanding of the social forces behind the Islamic declarations, appeals and slogans.

Despite all of the diversity of Muslim ideological currents and theories, their adherents can be divided into three main groups: traditionalists,

modernists and fundamentalists. This classification of Muslim ideological currents is presented in an article by renowned Soviet Islamic scholar L. Polonskiy in issue No 6 of NAUKA I RELIGIYA for 1983.

All of these currents use the same Islamic premises, but their interpretation depends on the particular social forces whose interests they reflect. Traditionalists are ideologists of the semifeudal strata, they stand guard over the letter of Islam, they do not tolerate individual opinions on religious matters, and in the sphere of politics they defend the theocratic state headed by theologians. Modernists, as ideologists of the bourgeois strata, give Islamic premises a reformist interpretation but also adhere to some Western "values" in the interests of the bourgeois development of their countries. Fundamentalists express the interests of various segments of the petty bourgeoisie.

Fundamentalist ideas are now the most popular. They are based on the principle of "religious revival," which does not mean a return to the past but a search for an original model of social development based on Islamic values. Fundamentalists regard Islam as the ideal social system, guaranteeing some kind of "third path" of development. There is no unanimity within this current, however, and two trends are quite evident: the progressive trend, which is anti-imperialist and antiexploitative, and the conservative trend, which is anticommunist.

Readers are particularly interested in the reasons for the activation of Islam and its increasing influence on the policy of developing states.

Soviet historical studies of this complex and complicated phenomenon include dozens of monographs and hundreds of scientific articles, including those published in NAUKA I RELIGIYA. Articles by L. Polonskiy, A. Ionova, Ye. Doroshenko and other authors contain scientifically sound descriptions of Islam's increasing political influence and prove that this is a natural phenomenon for the present stage of the development of Asian and African countries.

Researchers have revealed an entire series of interrelated factors with an obvious social nature. They have also considered the fact that the population is highly religious and the irrefutable fact that Islam has become a more integral part of everyday life than any other religion and is regarded by many not just as a religion, but also as a "way of life." Religion's influence on the masses is sustained by the forces trying to use it to prevent the spread of progressive, primarily communist, ideas. The process of secularization and the crisis of religion in today's world, however, are irrevocable.

This is attested to by articles in the magazine on the customs, traditions and morals of the Asian and African people. Of course, the distinctive features of a people's culture, daily life and moral principles are influenced greatly by past traditions, including religious ones. But the people in the East today are not living in the past. They are moving into the future, and signs of it can be seen in their daily life and in the new traditions engendered by a time of great changes and hopes.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### ESTABLISHMENT OF USSR-SAUDI ARABIAN RELATIONS RECALLED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 58-60

[Article by V. Gudeva: "The Development of Consular Relations Between Russia and Saudi Arabia"]

[Excerpts] This year marks 60 years since the establishment of a Soviet diplomatic mission in Jiddah. As a result, the history of the origins of consular relations between our country and Hijaz, now part of Saudi Arabia, attracts attention. Already in 1891 in Jiddah, the main city of Hijaz, then under the administration of a Turkish governor, a Russian consular institution began its work. From that time, Russia had a significant number of diplomatic and consular representatives in the Arabian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, in particular in Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, Aleppo and Beirut.

The article published describes how consular relations were established between Russia and Hijaz.

The Russian consulate in Jiddah existed up until November 1914. Because of the beginning of Turkish military operations against Russia and the severing of diplomatic relations, the Russian embassy in Constantinople and the Russian consuls accredited to a number of provinces in the Ottoman Empire were recalled. The last Russian consul in Jiddah, K. A. Granstrem, left the city unhindered on 26 October 1914 and arrived in Cairo on 7 November.

Despite the fact that Hijaz was a part of the Ottoman Empire at war with Russia, the local population did not display any unfriendly feelings toward the Russian representative during his departure from the city. As K. A. Granstrem reported: "While passing through a dense crowd on the way to the harbor, which was rather far from the Russian consulate, we did not hear one insulting exclamation and did not notice any display of hostile feelings toward us from the people...."

The first contacts of Soviet Russia with Hijaz were established at the end of 1922, at a meeting in Lausanne which took place between the RSFSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. V. Chicherin and a representative of the

Kingdom of Hijaz, Kh. Lotfallah, for discussion of questions on restoring bilateral relations. In 1924 a Soviet diplomatic mission was set up in Jiddah, becoming the first official USSR representation in the Arab countries.

In 1926 a unification of the separate Arab lands took place under the leadership of 'Abd-al-'Aziz Sa'ud who was later named King of Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and adjoining territories (now the state of Saudi Arabia).

On 16 February 1926 the government of Hijaz was officially recognized by the USSR. "...The government of the USSR, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples and profoundly respecting the will of the Hijaz people expressed in their choice of you for king, recognizes you as King of Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and the adjoining territories," said the note delivered to al Sa'ud. "On the strength of this the Soviet Government considers itself to be in a state of normal diplomatic relations with the government of Your Majesty."

In an answering note the king wrote: "To His Excellency the Agent and Consul General of the USSR. We had the honor of receiving your note of 3 Shaaban 1344 (16 February 1926), No 22, informing us of the recognition by the USSR government of the new state of affairs in Hijaz, concluding with the oath of the people to us as King of Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and the adjoining territories. My government expresses its thanks for this to the government of the USSR as well as complete readiness for relations with the government of the USSR and its subjects, which are characteristic of friendly powers....King of Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and the adjoining territories 'Abd-el-'Aziz Sa'ud. Completed in Mecca, 6 Shaaban 1344 (19 February 1926)".

The political support rendered by the Soviet Union to one of the first independent states in the Arab world, Saudi Arabia, played an important role in strengthening its international position.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' ECONOMIC GROWTH REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 62-63

[Review by V. Maksimenko, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: ekonomicheskiy rost i sotsial'nyy progress" [The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress], editors-in-chief and head authors V. L. Sheynis and A. Ya. El'yanov, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," 1983, 655 pages]

[Text] Economic growth and social progress, their failure to coincide and their strong interdependence constitute the main research topic of this group of authors, who have combined the economic, sociological and culturological approaches within a single book. The book contains many statistics (concentrated in 77 tables and 18 appendices). On this solid foundation the authors erect a system for the classification of developing countries in terms of their level of socioeconomic development and make important statements about the overall dynamics of their growth on the basis of a retrospective analysis.

The authors pay special attention to the "important turning point" (p 23) in the sphere of accumulations; accumulation norms have risen in the majority of developing countries and have secured one of the main conditions of economic growth in the last two decades. One noteworthy result of this growth during the postwar period on the global level has been, as the authors stress, "the convergence of the macroindicators of developed and developing countries" (p 26) of production structure and GDP use. This has been accompanied, however, by a pronounced disparity between production and employment: A comparison of statistics on developed and developing countries from the 1870's to the 1970's helped the authors substantiate the "asynchronous development of production and employment patterns throughout a fairly long period of time" and conclude that the developing world displays "a quite distinctive variety of economic growth" (p 32).

The authors' categorization of developing countries in seven main groups and on four levels of socioeconomic development produces a highly differentiated picture. Furthermore, as the authors point out, "differences between developing regions are becoming more pronounced" (p 65). Presenting further analysis to amplify their statement about the "quite distinctive variety of economic growth," the authors stress that the convergence of developed and developing countries in terms of macroindicators conceals "absolutely non-uniform processes" (p 102).

The lack of uniformity in the economic growth of the developed and developing zones of the world capitalist economy is also revealed by the authors on the level of public demand. Demand patterns constitute "an integral part of social existence" (pp 370-371), and for this reason their comparison to wage dynamics under the specific conditions of the developing countries--such as the profound discrepancy between demand and local production, the cumulative and explosive nature of rising demands and the demonstrative impact built into the mechanism of their formation--reveals "two different types of property-related inequality" in the developed and developing countries. In the latter group this inequality is "much more pronounced" (pp 393-394).

This objective situation is the reason for the primary objective, underscored by the authors, of changing national economic proportions in the developing countries, but this will be impossible without profound socioeconomic reforms and without the choice of the optimal set of sectorial and technological investment patterns, which is ultimately tantamount to the choice of a development strategy.

The authors' ideas about the interdependence of the economic and social forms of development are based on their inclusion of the economy of newly liberated countries in their total set of social relations (in the broad sense of the term). The sociocultural sphere's influence on the economy, the authors write, is often "stronger" (p 300) than the influence the economy exerts on this sphere. Ascertaining the "weakness of social ties engendered by the division of labor," the authors suggest that "most of the burden of maintaining social unity is shouldered by the state" in the developing countries (pp 299, 300).

This point of view is expressed quite consistently in the book. The authors do not regard the state's leading role in class formation in the developing countries as something temporary or transitory; in their opinion, "the relatively independent role of the state will not diminish" in these countries in the future. In a discussion of the distinctive cultural history of the developing countries, the authors single out the prevalence of personal ties over material ones, the "reverence for the environment" and the emphasis on the retention of existing structures and draw an important conclusion about the "impossibility of categorizing today's developing society in terms of the specific stages experienced by other societies under absolutely different historical conditions" (p 541).

This demonstration of the uniqueness of the historical progress of developing countries, which are not merely late in repeating the progress of other societies and do not fit into the linear scheme of "catching up," is one of the main distinctive features of the authors' theory and one of the most important scientific findings of the research team. The use of specific criteria of social progress in the developing countries allowed the authors to set forth their own view of the mainstream of advancement in the developing world in the future. The principal points of reference the authors suggest are the differentiation of spheres of social activity, the involvement of workers in public affairs, the ability to surmount the exclusivity of traditional primary collectives and the liberation of the individual from the force of tradition.



The authors' most important research findings certainly include their conclusion about the different stages of socioeconomic development in the Asian, African and Latin American countries (in comparison to Europe and North America) and their statement that the uniqueness of the developing countries is structural and cannot be attributed to "underdevelopment." Nevertheless, the authors stress, this uniqueness is not so great that it represents an alternative to the two world systems.

We have mentioned only a few of the topics discussed in this work, which is distinguished by an interest in relatively unstudied tendencies and characteristics of the developing world in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's. Several topics are discussed at greater length and in much greater detail than ever before in our scientific literature.

But it is precisely in the sections where the authors have to break new research ground that we cannot always agree with them. The description of the "Eastern genotype" in the book seems undifferentiated and static and, furthermore, does not agree with the postulate of the "sociocultural heterogeneity" (p 465) of the developing society. The debatable thesis about the tendency toward the increasing relative independence of groups "exercising government authority and personifying state ownership" (p 501) should have been supported by sounder arguments, particularly since the authors repeat it several times. Their description of old social-class structures as "rigid," "ossified" and so forth also requires more thorough and discerning examination.

Of course, these comments and objections do not change our main opinion of the book: This is a thorough study of the most urgent economic and social problems of the developing countries.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK CRITICIZING SADAT POLICIES, CAMP DAVID ACCORD REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 p 63

[Review by V. Aleksandrov, doctor of historical sciences, and A. Kuznetsov, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Ot Kemp-Devida k tragedii Livana" [From Camp David to the Tragedy of Lebanon] by A. A. Agaryshev, Moscow, "Molodaya Gvardiya," 1983, 191 pages]

[Text] This book by A. Agaryshev is a vivid journalistic account of the Arab people's struggle against the criminal Camp David conspiracy Sadat's Egypt entered into with Israel and the United States, a conspiracy which paved the way for the genocide of the Palestinian people and for the Israeli aggression in Lebanon.

The conclusion of the Camp David bargain complicated the already explosive situation in the Middle East. It split the Arab world apart. The events described in the book reveal the truly treacherous role Sadat's Egypt played in the Middle East as the ally of Tel Aviv and Washington. The author also examines the underlying motives for Sadat's treachery. In light of the facts presented in the book, the tragedy of Lebanon and the Palestinian Arabs looks like a result of Camp David.

It is a well-known fact that the Zionists have long made claims on southern Lebanon. Many famous Zionists and Israeli statesmen have cherished the hope of seizing part of this territory and dismembering this country. These plans have been worked out in detail in the headquarters of the Tel Aviv military establishment. They have essentially become part of Israeli state policy.

The sinister role played by the Camp David bargain in the implementation of these plans is conclusively demonstrated with detailed documented information: Israeli policy was not only planned in advance but was also coordinated with the interests of imperialist states, especially U.S. interests, in the Middle East. The idea that Lebanon had to be divided into Druze, Shiite, Sunnite and Maronite "states" was frankly and cynically expressed in Israel's strategic plans. In the same way, Israel has threatened the territorial integrity of Syria and Iraq several times. According to Zionist strategists, even Egypt, Israel's ally, could be divided into Arab and Coptic "states."

A. Agaryshev presents a thorough analysis of the Israeli plans to redesign the political map of the Middle East and concludes that the return of the Sinai

territory to Egypt in accordance with the Camp David conspiracy did not signify Israel's renunciation of its plans for the seizure of Arab lands, but merely demonstrated a change in the sequence of Zionist objectives: This maneuver took Egypt out of the camp of Arab adversaries.

Revealing the actual purpose and implications of the bargain Cairo made with Tel Aviv behind the backs of the Arab states, the author stresses that the Arabs "are firmly convinced that Egypt will sooner or later take its place among the other fighters and will break away from the criminal Zionist-imperialist alliance."

It has already become natural for Israel to repeat its large-scale aggressive actions in the Middle East every 8 or 10 years (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973). Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon in summer 1982 fit into this chronological framework. The author presents a detailed description of the tragic events in Lebanon and exposes the reactionary purpose of the direct U.S. support of Tel Aviv in these events.

As the author shows, however, the Israeli Zionists and their American patrons did not attain a single one of their goals in its entirety. The situation in the Middle East was exacerbated to such a degree by this aggression that imperialist interests there were jeopardized. Even the Arab countries with conservative regimes could not openly agree with U.S. policy.

The events in Lebanon proved that peace in the Middle East will be unattainable without the resolution of the Palestinian problem, "which represents the center of the entire problem of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict."

In 1976, as we know, Syrian troops were sent to Lebanon. By this time the civil war had become quite serious. Nevertheless, it was stopped with the aid of inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon and on the strength of the important role Syria played in this process. The author cites valid arguments to prove that Syria, which has always maintained close relations with Lebanon, is now its chief supporter in its struggle against Israeli aggression and against the feelings expressed in some Arab countries under U.S. pressure in favor of separate accords with Tel Aviv.

The Israelis are now trying to use the presence of Syrian troops in the Baqaa Valley to justify their own presence in Lebanon. The United States used the same excuse to send its troops there under the cover of the so-called "multinational force" whose mission was such a miserable failure. The falsity of this excuse is logically demonstrated in the book.

A. Agaryshev cogently proves that any fair solution to the Middle Eastern problem, including the question of Palestinian self-determination, must take the views of the socialist community countries into account. The USSR's consistent efforts to promote a peaceful and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East are analyzed in the book.

The author sums up his research with the main conclusion that imperialism's real intentions can now be seen quite clearly in the Middle East. The

attempts of American and Zionist propaganda to blame all of these criminal actions on the Arabs' "inability to get along with one another," on Palestinian "extremism" and on "communist intrigues" are essentially acts of provocation. The United States is directly responsible for inspiring and organizing the aggression. The ultimate purpose of this policy is the establishment of U.S. hegemony in the Middle East.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK CITES 'IMPERIALIST' CHARACTER OF ARAB FOREIGN AID

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 p 64

[Review by P. Khvoynik, doctor of economic sciences, of book "Ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya mezhdru arabskimi i osvobodivshimisya stranami. 1961-1980 gg." [Economic Relations Between Arab and Newly Liberated Countries. 1961-1980] by V. A. Isayev, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," 1983, 151 pages]

[Text] V. A. Isayev discusses a number of important and urgent problems in the development of economic ties between Arab countries and other newly liberated states. The author takes a comprehensive approach to his topic, his conclusions are based on an analysis of numerous foreign and Soviet sources and he has filled the book with a variety of analytical tables.

Citing specific examples, the author demonstrates that the economic cooperation between Arab and other newly liberated countries has displayed a clear tendency toward development for two decades: Their mutual trade has grown constantly and they have strengthened ties in the most diverse national economic sectors. The role of financial cooperation increased perceptibly after the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. Recent years have been marked by the appearance of the necessary conditions for a transition to a qualitatively new stage in the partners' economic interrelations.

A comparison of centrifugal and centripetal forces in the relations between the two groups of states, a subject which has not been examined in any great detail in Soviet literature, occupies an important place in the work.

V. A. Isayev analyzes the strategic aims, principles, methods and sociopolitical implications of economic cooperation between Arab and other developing countries. The author believes that the most distinctive feature of this cooperation in the 1970's was the export of capital from Arab oil-producing countries to other young states. Furthermore, in terms of many parameters, this process is now beginning to surpass the development of their joint economic activity in other spheres.

The author logically shows how several conservative Arab states use the export of so-called petrodollars as a means of influencing the economic development of recipient countries, and also their political development in many cases.

In this connection, the author says that the subsidies allocated by feudal monarchies in the Persian Gulf are used mainly for the further development of the recipient countries along capitalist lines. In other words, they are identical to imperialist "aid" in this respect. Credit and loans extended to developing states implementing profound socioeconomic reforms of a progressive nature, on the other hand, are supposed to "attach" them to the donor countries in order to "force their departure from their progressive line and thereby prevent the spread of their revolutionary influence" (p 87).

Some of the author's analyses are not thorough enough. For example, he does not say enough about the effect of the merger of Arab "oil" capital and big Western capital on the economic cooperation between Arab and other young states, or about the policy of the transnational corporations that are striving to make use of this cooperation for the attainment of their own goals in the developing world.

In general, however, V. A. Isayev's work is a multifaceted analysis of various forms of economic cooperation between Arab and other young states.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### MARX, LENIN REVOLUTIONARY THEORIES, VIEWS ON ASIA ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 2-5

[Article by V. Maksimenko, candidate of historical sciences: "Scientific Socialism and the Revolutionary Process in the East"]

[Excerpts] The subject of the East, profoundly and variously developed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, occupies a firm place in the science of revolution. Their analysis of the revolutionary process in the East, infinitely far from armchair academism and dry theorizing, still preserves everlasting political and methodological significance.

In the preface to the work "K kritike politicheskoy ekonomii" [On the Critique of Political Economy], Marx set forth a most important sociological discovery that had developed out of his understanding of the universal mechanism of change in social formations. Marx's idea was succinctly formulated in the concept "the epoch of social revolution" and included the notion of the double revolution in the life of a society--in its economic foundations and "in the entire huge superstructure."<sup>1</sup> This ingenious--in Lenin's words--"idea of materialism in sociology"<sup>2</sup> reflected a theoretical view of the dialectics of production relations and productive forces and of the duration of the social revolution as a process (epoch), and it also reflected an important practical conclusion about the lack of coincidence of the two revolutions (basic and in the superstructure) both in form as well as in the time during which they occur.

Marx determined the main channel for advanced social thinking for many years in advance. By the end of the 19th century, the international authority of Marxism had increased significantly, but at the same time--and directly related to this--attempts became more persistent for its reformist and liberal "adaptations" in an antirevolutionary spirit (Bernsteinism in the West, "legal" Marxism in Russia, etc.). The intensification of the ideological struggle of that period coincided with a complication of the international situation, unending colonial divisions, local wars and the entrance of capitalism into a new imperialist phase. Under these conditions, a great service of Lenin was his scientific analysis of the hidden motives in the staged changes in the development of world capitalism and the consistent development in the new stage of a strategy and tactics for the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of society.

The formation of the classical Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution applicable to the East occupies a large span of time--from the 1850's to the 1920's. Along



with the changing world, the revolutionary theory of its transformation was developed, made more profound and improved. This process has its own inherent laws. Therefore, in analyzing the views of Marx and Lenin on the revolutionary development of the East, it is quite important to consider the logic of how and by virtue of what circumstances the subject of the East became one of Marx's basic interests, how this theme changed and developed under the influence of events, and how it was continued and developed by Lenin.

Marx began his in-depth study of the East in 1853, and there was an entire complex of reasons providing the impetus for this: the latest exacerbation of the "Eastern question," the uprising of the Taipings in China, and the accumulation of symptoms of a general European industrial crisis. It was precisely then that Marx, relying on the study of Indian data, was successful in uncovering a new type of social organization--"the system of rural communities."<sup>3</sup> At the same time, in the article "Revolution in China and in Europe," he for the first time formulated the principle of the relationship between the national liberation movement and the socialist revolution. Analyzing in the middle of the last century the hypothetical interaction of a national uprising in a semicolonial country of the East and the general crisis in the West, evoking a chain reaction of antibourgeois political revolutions,<sup>4</sup> Marx, in a general theoretical form, for the first time put forth the question of dependencies linking together the movements of the oppressed in various parts of the planet--in its "advanced" and "backward" regions.

In studying the social structures of the countries lagging behind the centers of European capitalism in the development of productive forces, Marx warned against pseudo-theoretical speculation about the "universal path that all nations are fatally doomed to travel, whatever the historical circumstances in which they find themselves...."<sup>14</sup> The "dualism" of the community discovered by Marx (contradictory duality of collectivist and private-ownership principles) at least potentially involved an "alternative."<sup>15</sup>

Thus, in analyzing the prospects for progressive changes under "backward" conditions (from the point of view of the level of development of productive forces), Marx pointed out, in the first place, the multitude of variants and the existence of alternatives in the revolutionary process; in the second place, he noted that the point of departure for a social revolution, depending on a period of "upward" or "downward" movement, can shift from one country to another and from one type of social structures to another; and thirdly, Marx directed his attention to the fact that the theory of the environment (the external factor) is included in the analysis of the moving forces of the revolutionary process not as something "outside" of it but as one of its essential preconditions. This ideological legacy became an organic part of the Leninist approach to 20th century revolutions.

The Leninist stage in the development of the theory of social revolution in the East is linked with the greatest historical shift in historical development.

Lenin's development as a revolutionary, his thinking on the first independent class battles of the Russian proletariat, and the creation of a fundamentally new instrument in the revolutionary struggle--which the party of Bolsheviks

became--coincided with an extension of the front of the revolutionary movement throughout the world and with a closer interweaving of its various streams. It is in this light that Lenin's close interest in the awakening of Asia attains its significance.

Correctly understanding the tremendous revolutionary effect of the Russian revolution of 1905-07--the world's first bourgeois-democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class--and its influence not only on the countries contiguous with Russia but also on many other countries of the East, and in analyzing such elements of the international situation as the events in Persia and the Ottoman Empire, the combining of democracy and populism in China, and the increase in the anticolonial movement in Java, Lenin came to the conclusion that the 20th century opens up a "new phase of world history." On the eve of World War I, he noted the growth "of the world liberation movement throughout the world and in all forms" and the change in generations in the development of the moving forces of social revolution: in the place of the old European bourgeoisie appeared "the proletariat of the European countries and the young democracy of the Asian countries, full of belief in its own strengths and confidence in the masses."<sup>19</sup> Lenin was the first in the socialist literature of the 20th century to approach the national liberation movement of the East with a worldwide historical judgment in very close connection with the resolution of the tasks of anticapitalist social revolution.

The cycle of Leninist works for the years 1908 through 1914, dedicated to the "awakening of Asia," to the Iranian, Turkish and Chinese revolutions, and to the national question and the right of nations to self-determination, is imbued with the consciousness of the significance of "young Asia," in the vast expanses of which the political uplifting of hundreds of millions of people was taking place and where the young Asian bourgeoisie was still united "with the people against the reaction."<sup>20</sup> The profound meaning of the image "young Asia" is revealed in the Leninist idea of the shift at the beginning of the 20th century of the unsolved tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution from the European continent to the periphery of the developed capitalist world. "The epoch of national (bourgeois-democratic) revolutions..." wrote Lenin in 1914, "is finished in the West of Europe but in the East it has only begun in Asia...."<sup>21</sup>

The subject "Lenin and the East" is truly enormous. There have been numerous many-sided investigations, but the subject nevertheless attracts attention and will continue to do so, for the Leninist theory of the revolutionary process in the East has included the most important descriptions of the social revolutions of the 20th century.

In our opinion, among the most important of the positions of the class analysis of the mixed reality are those positions in which was reflected the Leninist vision of the situation specific to the 20th century of the beginning of the epochs of two social revolutions--the antifeudal and the anticapitalist revolutions. This meant the combination of the goals of two social revolutions--the democratic and the socialist revolutions--something never before observed in practice in the world. The new historical situation, in turn, was to be translated into the language of the practical struggle of conscientious

revolutionary forces and to be expressed in the clear and at the same time flexible relationship of overall national and proletarian-class tasks.

Departing mainly from the example of Russia and the experience of the ideological and theoretical struggle in Russian Marxism (the focus of which at the turn of the century was the question of the fate of capitalism under the conditions of semi-serfdom in the economy and the preservation of elements of the communal system) as well as from the practical lessons of the first Russian revolution, Lenin in the new historical situation came to the idea of Russia, the East and the West being linked by a single revolutionary process. This made it possible for him to establish and solve the classical task of Marxism in a new way: Under what conditions does a revolution of the minority become a revolution of the majority?

"The year 1905," wrote Lenin, "was the beginning of the end of 'Eastern' immobility."<sup>24</sup> In evaluating the historical fate of the teaching of Karl Marx, he stressed: "A new source of very great world storms has been opened up in Asia.... We know live precisely in the epoch of these storms and their reflection back in Europe."<sup>25</sup> Formulating in 1914 the bases of the revolutionary right--the right of nations to self-determination--Lenin outlined the prospects of the revolutionary process for decades in advance: "Revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey and China, and wars in the Balkans--this is the chain of world events of our epoch for our 'East'. And in this chain of events, only a blind person can fail to see the awakening of an entire series of bourgeois-democratic national movements and aspirations for the creation of independent national and unified national states."<sup>26</sup>

The upsurge of the class struggle of the Russian proletariat at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries permitted Lenin to establish the question of the uniting of socialism with the working class movement and to put forth a concept of a party of a new type, a party whose activity alters the very course of the revolutionary process, unites all democratic elements of the society, energetically supports and leads the revolutionary onslaught of the peasantry throwing off the absolutist superstructure.

Without confusing the goals of the democratic and socialist revolutions but also understanding that under contemporary conditions there cannot be an impassable wall between them, Lenin emphasized the paramount importance of the correct choice by revolutionary forces of a strategy of alliances, a strategy that is especially important in those countries where there is no clearly expressed polarization between the two basic classes of contemporary society. In the first place, Lenin called for the "class segregation" of the revolutionary forces, the carriers of the goals of socialist revolution. Secondly, he demanded the "unity of common action" of the revolutionary party of the proletariat with the parties of petty-bourgeois peasant democracy.<sup>27</sup>

The basis and essence of this policy involved giving the "largest democratic mass in the country (the peasantry and related strata of the nonfarm petty bourgeoisie)"<sup>28</sup> the fundamental political choice of being for or against an authoritarian state and a conciliatory liberal bourgeoisie.

In the countries lagging behind the centers of world capitalism in the level of development of productive forces, the revolutionary strategy of alliances and blocs was dictated primarily by the special features of the social structure of these countries. "In such a predominantly petty-bourgeois and peasant country," wrote Lenin, "the outcome of the bourgeois revolution depends mostly upon the political conduct of small-scale producers"; the large-scale bourgeoisie "is treacherous," the proletariat "will be the most loyal fighter," and the working petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry "are precisely that changeable quantity that determines the outcome."<sup>29</sup>

Under these conditions, an important factor in selecting allies was consideration of the irregularity of the revolutionary process, its variety of forms, and--the main thing--its internal periodization. The revolutionary movement, noted Lenin, "does not and cannot proceed uniformly and in identical forms in different countries."<sup>30</sup> In the scope of the global epoch of social revolution, there are "revolutionary periods" in the true sense of the word that should be distinguished from "periods of so-called peaceful development...when the economic conditions do not evoke profound crises and do not give rise to powerful mass movements."<sup>31</sup> The precision of periodization also presupposes clear differences in tactics. Thus, in the upswing of the mass revolutionary movement, in coordinating the actions of "the worker and bourgeois democracies," it is important, wrote Lenin, not to substitute "the concept of revolutionary bourgeois democracy with the concept of bourgeois democracy as a whole,"<sup>32</sup> which includes both liberal and opportunistic currents. In periods of a decline in the revolutionary wave and in times of reform, "technical agreements are possible" between proletarian revolutionaries and liberals without, to be sure, in any way "leading to a political bloc."<sup>33</sup>

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, fundamentally changing the relation of forces in the international arena, a new historical possibility arose for the backward countries to skip the capitalist stage of development with the support of victorious socialism. At the same time, there was a change in the distribution of forces in the camp of the recently relatively unified bourgeois democracy in the East. Lenin noted the split in the camp of the bourgeois-democratic forces in the East into two wings--national-revolutionary and national-reformist--and "a certain drawing together"<sup>34</sup> of the right wing with the imperialist bourgeoisie. This had a direct relationship to the strategy of alliances in the revolutionary struggle. In a controversy with M.N. Roy at the 2nd Komintern Congress, Lenin did not agree, for example, with the putting of the bourgeois national democrats in the East in opposition to the worker and peasant masses, and he rejected Roy's proposals to unleash the class struggle in the colonies at the earliest possible stages. Under the post-October conditions as well, these thoughts of Lenin, in combination with his demand "to adapt...the Communist Party (its staff and its basic tasks) to the level of the peasant countries of the colonial East,"<sup>35</sup> reproduce Lenin's strategic orientation toward the bringing together of the two social revolutions in time.

Again returning to the theme of the revolutionary process in the East at the end of his life, Lenin made a notable forecast: "Tomorrow in world history," he wrote, "will be just such a day when the aroused nations oppressed by

imperialism will definitively awaken and when the decisive long and difficult struggle for their liberation will begin."<sup>36</sup>

In our time, this battle for the national and social liberation of the peoples of the East is still not over. Under the conditions of the exacerbation of the international situation, the increase in the aggressiveness of imperialism, and the appearance of new lines of social and class demarcation in the developing countries, the ideas of scientific socialism are attaining special significance. The lessons of the revolutionary experience, accumulated in the works of Marx and Lenin, continue to serve as a reliable point of reference in choosing the strategy and tactics of today's advanced social forces.

Following the important victories of the national liberation movement of the 1960's and 1970's, the revolutionary process in the East entered a new phase. It is taking place under conditions that "are characterized by great complexity and that change rapidly," when contemporary capitalism "still possesses considerable and by no means exhausted reserves for development."<sup>37</sup> Against this background, the conditions in the work of the national liberation and progressive movements have become more complicated and there are increased demands on the scientific validity of policy. Marxism-Leninism was and remains a powerful source of continuous creative renewal of social practice in each historically new stage of the revolutionary process in the countries of Asia and Africa.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniye" [Works], Vol 13, p 7.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collection of Works], Vol 1, p 136.
3. Marx and Engels, op. cit., Vol 9, p 134.
4. Ibid., p 103.
19. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 23, p 146.
20. Ibid., p 167.
21. Ibid., Vol 24, p 386.
24. Ibid., Vol 20, p 103.
25. Ibid., Vol 23, p 3.
26. Ibid., Vol 25, p 269.
27. Ibid., Vol 15, pp 344, 350.
28. Ibid., Vol 21, p 89.
29. Ibid., Vol 14, p 24.

30. Ibid., Vol 17, p 182.
31. Ibid., p 42.
32. Ibid., Vol 12, p 336.
33. Ibid., Vol 16, p 56.
34. Ibid., Vol 1, p 243.
35. Ibid., Vol 41, p 457.
36. Ibid., Vol 45, p 362.
37. PRAVDA, 26 April 1984.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### USSR ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AID TO DEVELOPING STATES DETAILED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 6-9

[Article by I. Kulev, candidate of economic sciences: "The USSR and the Process of the Formation of the Contemporary Economic Structures of the Liberated Countries"]

[Text] The achievements of the socialist community are increasingly attracting the close attention of the developing world. There is growing recognition by the young nations of the foreign policy principles of the countries of socialism. Naturally, the clearer the successes of socialism, the greater is the intensification of the struggle in regard to the basic questions of its foreign and domestic policy and the stronger is the striving of the ideologists of imperialism to discredit these successes in the eyes of the world community.

The propaganda services of the imperialist powers are attempting, in particular, to discredit the principles and above all the results of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the socialist and the liberated countries, simultaneously glorifying the Western model of the "partnership of large and small nations." But the intentional distortion of reality, especially in recent years, is ceasing to be the prerogative of the mass communications media alone. It is being elevated to the status of state policy. On 22 September 1981, when he was serving as secretary of state of the United States, A. Haig declared at the session of the UN General Assembly that during the preceding decade the United States provided "almost twice as much" aid to developing countries at favorable terms "than any other donor country." "Meager" is how the final communique of the seven leading capitalist powers in Ottawa in the summer of 1981 referred to the contribution of the Soviet Union and its partner socialist states in providing economic aid to the developing countries.

In response to these and a number of other similar statements, A.A. Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, presented information to the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly on the use of Soviet aid by the liberated countries in the years 1976 through 1980. These data make it very obvious that during this period the economic and technical assistance of the USSR to the development of the young nations was 1.6 times as great as U.S. "development aid" in absolute terms and 4.3 times as great in terms of its share of gross national product.

Of course, a comparison of the value of the aid of the capitalist powers and the technical and economic assistance of the USSR to the liberated countries



is conditional, since it does not consider the completely different nature and orientation of the cooperation in the two cases. It is precisely the consideration of these factors that makes it possible to present clearly the incontestable advantage of the USSR over the leading imperialist powers in the provision of economic aid to the developing nations.

But of course the purpose of Soviet aid is not to exceed the indicators of the capitalist donor countries but above all to satisfy the urgent needs for economic construction in the liberated countries.

Although the policy of relying on one's own strengths has become widespread and recognized in the developing world, it must be said that there are very limited possibilities for realizing all of the tasks facing the developing nations, especially those lacking natural petroleum reserves.

The standard for internal accumulation in most young nations amounts to only 10 to 12 percent of their national income. The share of external resources in the structure of accumulation is no less than 3 percent of gross national product in those countries without their own petroleum. According to a series of estimates by World Bank experts, to maintain the annual growth rate of GNP at the level of 5.2 percent, the liberated countries needed \$64 billion in capital investments in 1976, and by 1985 this figure will exceed \$280 billion.

In the period 1970 through 1980, the rate of increase in real aid provided to all liberated countries by the 17 OECD members, the largest donor nations of the capitalist world, amounted to 3 to 3.5 percent annually, and it was only 1.5 percent for the least developed of the young nations. According to the forecasts of the annual Paris meeting of the OECD, the rate of increase in official aid to the liberated countries will decline during the current decade. It was not long before these forecasts were justified. As early as 1981, the aid of the OECD countries declined by \$1.7 billion in absolute terms compared with the previous year, amounting to \$25.6 billion, or 0.35 percent of their total gross national product. In 1982, it increased somewhat--to \$28 billion, or 0.39 percent of their combined GNP, having reached the level of 1980.

There is no room for doubt about the true destination of the so-called aid of the capitalist countries. Its main function is to create in the young states an investment climate suitable to the transnational corporations of the United States and the other developed capitalist countries. This is shown by the data on the correlation between the profits taken out of the liberated countries and new investment. In 1971, the profits transferred to the United States from the liberated countries by American transnational companies exceeded their new investments by \$1.7 billion, and the difference was \$5.4 billion in 1979. This trend continues today.

A no less important factor in the backwardness of the liberated countries in their economic development is the "brain drain" of ever-greater proportions. This is a very profitable process for the capitalist countries. According to some calculations, the United States alone saved more than \$5 billion in the training of key personnel by "abducting" 150,000 specialists from the liberated countries in the years 1969 through 1979.



These countries, of course, are not threatened with such a bloodletting in their cooperation with the world of socialism. Proceeding from the principle of proletarian internationalism, the socialist states are striving to do all that they can to satisfy their requirement for their own key personnel. The number of specialists and highly skilled workers trained with the assistance of the USSR, for example, is growing from year to year and is already reaching 1.25 million people. Specialists from liberated countries are being trained at the higher and secondary special educational institutions of the USSR as well as during the course of the construction and operation of cooperative projects and at enterprises in the Soviet Union. At the present time, the VUZ's of the USSR are training more than 20,000 students and post graduates from developing countries annually.

With the help of the USSR, more than 220 educational centers and 47 institutes and tekhnikums have been or will be constructed in the young states, and 140 of these have already been put into operation. More than 40,000 citizens of liberated countries are undergoing technical and vocational training at enterprises in the USSR.

The economic and technical cooperation of the USSR with the developing countries as an integral concept in the foreign economic policy of the CPSU is finding more and more recognition by these countries. Evidence of this is the steady increase in the number of countries that have entered into agreements of various types on such cooperation. There were only 14 of them in 1961, but there were 65 by 1983.

The Soviet Union is making a significant contribution to consolidating the positions of the liberated countries as equal partners in world economic relations.

In 1949, the USSR presented to the United Nations a proposal on the introduction into international economic relations of the practice of providing aid to young nations based upon principles of maximum respect for the interests and rights of the debtor countries. These proposals were developed further in the declaration of the Soviet Government on the reorganization of international economic relations (1976). The socialist states supported and continue to support the just demands presented by the liberated countries in the course of the struggle for a new international economic order. At the same time, the Soviet Union repeatedly indicated that there is no justification in this regard to put equal demands on the industrial countries of different social and economic systems. As is known, the socialist countries are not involved in those burdens that are being inflicted upon the developing nations by the economic crises of capitalism, the instability of foreign exchange, and other manifestations of the anarchy of economic life that are inherent in the capitalist system. The USSR completely rejects the principle of "equal responsibility" of socialist states and capitalist countries for the consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism.

From the moment of its formation, the Soviet state and the other socialist countries have been pursuing a consistent policy of providing every possible economic aid to the liberated countries, aid that is directed to raising the

standard of living of these countries and to eliminating hunger and poverty by means of a reorganization of the economic structure and the transformation of the monocultural and archaic economy into a contemporary diversified economic complex. In the countries with a socialist orientation, consolidation of the economic base also helps to create production relations of a new type.

The young nations are doing justice to the great help that the USSR is giving them. Indian Prime Minister I. Gandhi gave a high evaluation of the role of the USSR in the establishment of the national economic system, declaring that the "USA and FRG declined to help India in the development of key industrial sectors, whereas the Soviet Union agreed to provide the necessary assistance. The Indian people deeply appreciate this." The joint flight of Soviet and Indian astronauts in April 1984 emphasized the high scientific and technical level of this cooperation.

Complex and multifaceted problems arise in the process of the development of international economic ties. In a number of cases in selecting projects for cooperation, the necessity arose of solving a double task--that of revealing the possibilities on the Soviet side for providing assistance and of determining the economic effectiveness, place and role of the project under review in the structure of the economy of the partner country. This situation also had to be faced when the client substituted considerations of prestige for economic aspects.

Having selected the project and entered into an agreement on economic and technical cooperation, the liberated partner countries face the necessity of solving two main problems: they must provide skilled key personnel for the project and they must seek sources of savings to cover the internal outlays.

It should be noted that as a rule the projects for cooperation with the USSR are those enterprises and sectors that the developed capitalist powers decline to establish, seeing in them not only a factor strengthening the independence of the liberated countries but also competition for their own output. These are mainly metallurgical plants and projects in the ore mining and oil drilling industries. Their construction requires skilled personnel at all levels--workers, technicians, engineers and office workers. The experience of the USSR in resolving such tasks was perhaps most clearly revealed in the construction of the Aswan Hydroelectric Complex in Egypt.

The first thing to be organized was a system for training the key personnel directly at the work site. In this connection, Soviet specialists functioned not only as technical experts but also as instructors. An entire network of courses of varying lengths (2 months and longer) depending upon the complexity of the occupation to be mastered began to function. Besides a new educational center for training highly skilled workers, use was made of educational centers previously established in the country. In addition, a certain number of Egyptian engineers and workers acquired work practice in the Soviet Union.

The example of the construction of the Aswan Complex is not unique. The question of providing qualified key personnel for the metallurgical plants constructed in India, Algeria and other countries with the assistance of the Soviet Union was solved in the same way.

All of the enterprises established within the scope of economic and technical cooperation between the socialist and developing countries are the material basis for expanding the state sector in the economic system of the latter, and accordingly also for increasing the role of the national state in carrying out social and economic reforms in these countries and for consolidating their positions in the international arena. It is very difficult outside of the framework of the state sector to solve such basic social problems as the standardization of the work day, the determination of the minimum wage level, the organization of a system of free education and medical assistance, and the introduction of social insurance.

It is obvious that the resolution of all these questions is very closely related to the scale of cooperation between developing and socialist states.

The construction of projects for heavy industry not only strengthens the positions of the state sector in the economic system but it also substantially alters the entire economic structure of the country. As an example, one can take the Esfahan Metallurgical Plant in Iran, whose production will reach 2 million tons of steel annually in 1984. It brought about an entire complex of accompanying enterprises--mine shafts, an ore mining combine and quarries for the extraction of nonmetallic minerals. It was necessary to construct thousands of kilometers of roads and 1,500 kilometers of railroads, to lay electric transmission lines, to build cities and settlements, and to organize a network for training key vocational and technical personnel capable of using the most up-to-date equipment. A country not previously having its own metallurgy created a steel producing industry of its own.

At the same time, the United States and other capitalist countries continually asserted that Iran had no need for a national metallurgical industry and that it would be much more advantageous for it to buy finished metal from them. In convincing the Government of Iran to refrain from establishing a metallurgical complex, the imperialist powers hoped to hold on to this voluminous market for a long time to come and to ensure the complete dependence of Iran on the world capitalist economic system.

The already mentioned hydroelectric complex in Egypt is another example of the consistent change in the economic structures of the developing countries with the help of cooperative projects. The electric transmission lines, extending along the Nile from Aswan to Alexandria for almost 1,500 kilometers through practically the entire country, represent the backbone, as it were, of Egypt's electrification system.

The primitive and archaic sheet irrigation system was replaced with an up-to-date system, which made it possible to bring in an additional harvest every year on these lands. For the first time in the country, cheap electric power made it possible to organize the production of aluminum. The plant in Nag Hamadi is already producing about 100,000 tons of aluminum a year, and work is being done to increase its capacity. The ferrous metallurgy production at the Kheluan plant has been practically reorganized. The production of metal-cutting machine tools, tools, cable, welding electrodes, lubricating oils and many other things has been established in Egypt for the first time.

The assistance of the Soviet Union in building all of these enterprises contributed to the establishment of large-scale modern economic sectors, substantially diminishing the country's dependence upon market conditions in the world capitalist economic system. The Soviet side bears no responsibility for the fact that this process was not finished, as a result of which Egypt suffered significant losses. Comparing the results of the economic and technical assistance of the USSR and the "aid" of the West, Kh. Ismail, a prominent politician in the country, noted in an interview given to the newspaper AL MUSAUVAR on 13 August 1982 that "the largest projects in Egypt were constructed by the Soviet Union" and also that "for the last 7 years since the time when Egypt turned to the Western bloc, I cannot name even a single economic project worth mentioning."

Parallel to the completion of projects in heavy industry in the liberated countries with the assistance of the USSR is the broad base for the production infrastructure. The aid of the Soviet Union completely changed the transport system of Syria. It is enough to refer to the railroad from the port of Latakia to the Turkish border (Kamysly), a distance of almost 700 kilometers. This main railroad line not only helps in the development of economic relations between Syria and Turkey but it also links the oil bearing and agricultural regions of the country with industrial centers such as Damascus and others. A 300-kilometer railroad linked the port of Tartus with the phosphorus mines of Palmyra. The export of the raw material extracted there provides significant foreign exchange. One can provide more examples of fruitful cooperation. It is sufficient to recall the work of Soviet organizations in the exploration for and drilling of oil, the construction of the hydroelectric complex on the Euphrates, which provided water for the country's agriculture and employment for many of its citizens, and the creation of an extensive network of electric transmission lines and substations supporting the electrification of the country.

No less impressive are the results of the cooperation of the USSR with Afghanistan, a country having an extremely backward economic structure. The successes of Afghanistan in its reorganization have been enormous in recent years. Vehicular roads have been constructed that link the capital city Kabul with the southern and northern regions of the country, and in some places these roads are at an elevation of more than 4,000 meters above sea level. The main highway extending more than 600 kilometers from Kushka to Kandahar and constructed with the assistance of the Soviet Union became a very important link in the national transportation network, giving it an outlet, on the one hand, to the USSR and, on the other hand, to distant provinces bordering Pakistan. These roads are also used for the through shipment of freight from European countries and in the opposite direction. Also constructed with the aid of the Soviet Union was the first nitrogenous fertilizer plant, providing Afghanistan with fertilizer and using as raw material natural gas discovered by Soviet geologists. The surplus gas is sold to the Soviet Union.

Following the April revolution in 1978, the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the two countries rose to a new level, contributing to the successful development of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the road to social progress.

One can include India, Algeria, Bangladesh, Turkey and other nations among the countries in which the economic structure was fully or partially reorganized with Soviet economic and technical assistance.

I would like once again to emphasize the multipurpose nature of the economic and technical assistance of the USSR to the liberated countries. Most of them have chosen the course of accelerated industrialization, whereby the experience of their economic construction once again confirms the falsity of the idea put forth by Western propaganda about the "senselessness" of the establishment of heavy industry in these countries.

The following data speak of the complex approach of the Soviet Union to the problems in the development of the economic system of the young states and of the diversity of the assistance provided them. Of 3,090 projects built in the liberated countries with the participation of the USSR, 40 percent are industrial enterprises, mainly in electric power and machine building. Much attention is being paid to sectors directly determining the increase in the standard of living of the masses. A significant portion of the cooperative projects is comprised of enterprises in the food industry, transport and communications, along with projects in education, health protection and culture (see table).

Sectorial Distribution of Projects Completed in the Developing Countries With the Assistance of the USSR (as of January 1983)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>	<u>Relative Share (%)</u>
Industry	1,235	40
Agriculture	577	19
Transport and communications	359	12
Social infrastructure	718	23
Other	201	6
Total	3,090	100

By the beginning of the present decade, about 40 percent of the cast iron and 25 percent of the steel produced in the young nations of Asia and Africa was smelted in enterprises constructed with the assistance of the USSR. Two giant metallurgical enterprises in India--Bhilai and Bokaro--produce about 40 percent of the country's entire steel output, and in Turkey the metallurgical plant at Iskenderun produces 40 percent of all the cast iron, 20 percent of the steel and 15 percent of the rolled metal. The electric power stations built with the aid of the USSR provide 70 percent of the total output of electric power in Syria, 60 percent in Afghanistan, 50 percent in Egypt, and 15 to 20 percent in India, Iraq, Bangladesh and other countries.

All of the projects built with the assistance of the USSR are fully owned by the governments of the liberated countries, which excludes the possibility of the exportation of the profits obtained at the enterprises. The principle of partnership and mutual advantage upon which the cooperation is based does not presuppose that the donor nation will receive any political and economic privileges. The payment for Soviet deliveries of equipment and technical services



with traditional export goods stimulates the economic system of the liberated countries and contributes to an increase in local production.

Obviously, as in any other type of activity, the cooperation of the USSR with the liberated countries encounters certain difficulties in pursuing the goal of modernizing their economies. They arise, in particular, when the leaders of the young nations, not experienced in management, prefer prestige projects or, not having put an end to the predominance of feudal relations and not having created sources of internal savings, they issue the slogan of immediate industrialization. In this connection, they are not considering the experience of other countries, for example the Soviet Union, which did not begin to industrialize until the 11th year of its existence, having a relatively developed production base as well.

Soviet specialists sent to one country or another sometimes encounter mistrust, especially on the part of a local bureaucracy that has acquired the way of life and thinking of the colonizers. In these cases, a certain amount of time passes before a harmonious multinational team develops at the construction site, a team united by Soviet specialists brought up with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The aid provided by the Soviet Union to the young states not only helps to increase their employment but it also makes it possible to solve more rapidly other questions as well, questions such as the provision of housing to the workers, the development of a network of medical, children's and sports institutions, etc. It is sufficient to recall that after the Iskenderun Metallurgical Plant was built in Turkey, a remarkable town grew up next to it, a town in which people live in apartments with all of the comforts and make use of the services of children's institutions, hospitals and polyclinics. The first builders of the Aswan Hydroelectric Complex lived in "tin can villas," reed huts, or simply in pits. But by the time of the completion of the project, wonderful settlements appeared here, where the houses had hot water and air conditioning. And a new city spread out along side the Esfahan Metallurgical Plant in Iran. One could continue with such examples. It should be emphasized that Soviet organizations--planning, architectural and construction--invariably took part in the organization of the completed projects.

The assistance of the USSR to the liberated countries could be greater if the imperialist powers--having begun the latest spiral in the arms race--were not forcing the Soviet Union to take additional measures to strengthen its defense capability. And the aid of the Western nations to the developing countries could also be more significant with reduced military expenditures. In recent years, these expenditures of the capitalist world have been about 14 times as great as its "development aid." Annually an average of 5 to 6 percent of gross world product is diverted for military preparations.

Thus, one observes an objective convergence of interests of the Soviet Union and of the liberated countries that it is assisting both in solving internal economic problems--above all in the establishment of modern economic structures in the young nations--as well as in the reorganization of international

economic relations, the curbing of the arms race, and the creation of an atmosphere of good neighborly relations and mutual trust among all nations.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### AMERICAN POLICY OF 'TWO CHINAS' CRITICIZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 10-12

[Article by Ye. Belov, candidate of historical sciences: "The 'Two Chinas' Policy"]

[Text] At the 12th CCP Congress (September 1982), Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee, declared that "a dark shadow is constantly present" in the relations between the PRC and the United States. This, he emphasized, is explained by the fact that the United States "is continuing to supply arms to Taiwan, which it considers to be an independent political reality."

Indeed, for a long time now, the "two Chinas" policy being pursued by Washington has been producing serious friction in the relations between China and the United States.

The government of the PRC has repeatedly declared that this policy is a violation of Chinese sovereignty and interference in its internal affairs. Let us add that it also abases the national dignity of the great Chinese people.

The so-called Taiwan question arose as a result of the interference of American imperialism in the civil war in China, which in 1949 led to the crushing defeat of the Shanghai Kuomintang regime and the formation of the Chinese People's Republic. The remnants of the Kuomintang grouping led by Chiang Kai-shek fled to the island of Taiwan, which with the help of the United States soon became the operating base in the struggle against the PRC.

As is known, Taiwan was taken from China by Japan in 1895. On 25 October 1945, after the defeat of Japanese militarism in World War II, and in accordance with the Cairo (December 1943) and Potsdam (July 1945) declarations of the governments of the United States, England and China and the Japanese Capitulation Act (2 September 1945), the island was returned to China. After the victory of the people's revolution in China, however, the United States and other imperialist powers repudiated their obligations set forth in the mentioned international acts and began to undertake actions directed toward the separation of Taiwan from the PRC.

In June 1950, during the Korean War, U.S. President H. Truman issued an order to the Seventh Fleet "to impede any attack on Formosa" (Taiwan), justifying the order by saying that in the event of the liberation of the island by PRC troops



there would be a "security threat" to the Pacific Ocean region and to the armed forces of the United States in this region. In the same document, it was stated that the decision on the future status of Formosa must be made after "the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan or the discussion of this question by the United Nations." Thus, the order of the American president included an official reexamination of the previous position of the United States consisting of the recognition of Taiwan as an integral part of China.

Since that time 34 years have passed, and all of this time ruling U.S. circles have persistently been pursuing a "two Chinas" policy, changing, to be sure, their tactics in accordance with the changing situation in their relations with the PRC.

In February 1972, R. Nixon, then president of the United States, visited the PRC. This visit was the beginning of normalization of Chinese-American relations after long years of confrontation between these two countries. In the course of the visit, they worked out and promulgated the so-called Shanghai Communique, in which considerable space was devoted to the Taiwan problem. In this document, the Chinese side declared that "the Taiwan question is a key question hindering the normalization of relations between China and the United States."

The American side made some outward and formal concessions to the Chinese side. "The United States," stated the Shanghai Communique, "recognizes that all Chinese on both sides of the Formosa Strait consider that there is one China and Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not dispute these positions. It again affirms its interest in a peaceful solution to the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves." At first glance, it appears that Washington had abandoned its "two Chinas" policy. In reality it did not abandon this policy. It merely referred to the opinion of the Chinese living on the two sides of the Formosa Strait. And to this day, their opinion is still only this: there is but one China. The Americans thus reserved a vague formulation that is advantageous to them and does not obligate them to anything. At the same time, they insist on a "peaceful" solution to the Taiwan question, that is, they demand of Beijing that it not use force in relation to Taiwan. This is clearly intervention in the internal affairs of China and a violation of its sovereignty.

In signing the Shanghai Communique, Beijing did not raise the question of Washington's ending all ties with Taiwan. This was a substantial concession on its part. As we will see below, the United States, subsequently renouncing its old forms of relations with Taiwan (diplomatic relations, military alliance and others), replaced them with relations of a new kind, with the same goal as before of supporting the reactionary Taiwan regime and maintaining its control over the island.

And for 7 years after the Shanghai Communique, the PRC and the United States had no official diplomatic relations because of differences on the Taiwan question. They were not established until 1 January 1979. Washington agreed to sever diplomatic relations with the Taiwan regime, abrogate the military agreement between the United States and Taiwan (signed in 1954), and remove

its troops from the island. In reality, however, Taiwan's situation did not change. The United States did not recognize the sovereignty of the PRC over the island, which remained under the practical protection of the United States.

In March 1979, the U.S. Congress passed the Law on Relations With Taiwan, which guaranteed the "security" of the island, that is, its separation from the PRC. The law obligated the U.S. Government to supply Taiwan with "defensive" weapons and to maintain the capability of the United States "to oppose an application of force or other forms of aggression that could undermine the security or social and economic system of the people of Taiwan." At the same time, Congress affirmed the "unshakability" of American-Taiwanese relations, although it now assigned them an "unofficial" nature. The law provided for the establishment of a special American Institute for Taiwan, to which were given many functions previously performed on the island by the U.S. Embassy. As for the Taiwanese, they formed an analogous "nongovernmental" institution--the Coordinating Council for North American Affairs--to support relations with the United States. On 2 October 1980, an agreement was signed between the United States and Taiwan, in accordance with which, as stated by the agency SIN'KHUA, "unofficial representatives of the United States on Taiwan and representatives of Taiwan in the United States are being transformed into official diplomatic representatives in all respects with the exception of the title."

Thus, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC did not, in essence, change the existing relations between the United States and the Taiwan regime, but it did make even more obvious the "two Chinas" situation.

In 1980, the U.S. Government resumed deliveries of arms to Taiwan (after a 2-year moratorium on such deliveries). The arming of the Kuomintang evoked sharp protests from the PRC Government, which accused the United States of disregarding its own obligations entered into "in accordance with international norms and the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries." The displeasure over the arming of Taiwan by the United States continued to grow in China, and by the summer of 1982 there was a sharp worsening of relations between Beijing and Washington.

Under these conditions, Washington was forced to seek a way out of the blind alley into which American-Chinese relations had gone. On 17 August 1982, a joint American-Chinese communique was signed in Beijing with regard to the sale of arms to Taiwan by the United States. The United States promised the PRC that it would make a "maximum effort" for the "complete settlement of this question." The administration of R. Reagan also promised that "neither in a qualitative nor in a quantitative sense will the sales of American arms to Taiwan exceed the level of deliveries made in the years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China." The most nebulous and indeterminate promise made to China by the U.S. Government involves the timing of the final cessation of American military shipments to Taiwan.

American propaganda spared no efforts in extolling this document both as--in its words--"a model of a mutually acceptable compromise" and as "evidence of Washington's good judgment." But the Chinese press reacted to the communique

with more reserve and even with a certain amount of alarm. Thus, in an editorial article dated 18 August 1982, ZHEN'MIN ZHIBAO wrote that although the publication of the joint communique moved the question of the sales of arms to Taiwan by the United States "off of dead center," this does not mean its "complete resolution." The article goes on to say: "Despite the fact that the United States made some promises, it is still necessary to see how it will act."

In signing the communique, the administration of R. Reagan was pursuing the following main goal: that of giving the leaders in Beijing the opportunity to save face before the Chinese public and therefore the possibility of further developing their relations with the United States, an area in which Beijing is extremely interested--above all with respect to purchases of the latest American equipment and technology. In regard to Washington's position on the question of the sale of arms to Taiwan, it has not changed at all since the signing of the communique. This is clear just from the fact that on the day of its publication, the U.S. president declared in a conversation with CBS, a leading radio and television company: "There was no retreat on my part. Absolutely nothing has changed. We will arm Taiwan in the future as well. I am bound by the Law on Relations With Taiwan and I will observe it."

The U.S. Government did not fulfill a single one of its promises recorded in the communique. Military shipments of American arms to Taiwan are continuing, only on an even larger scale. Thus, whereas in fiscal year 1981 the "ceiling" to the value of military equipment sent to Taiwan was at \$330 million, it had already reached \$800 million in 1983. F-5E fighters continue to be produced on Taiwan under U.S. licensing. In fiscal year 1984, the United States intends to deliver a total of \$780 million in arms to Taiwan.

In February of last year, in an interview given to the American weekly HUMAN EVENTS, R. Reagan declared: "If the day arrives when both sides (PRC and Taiwan--Ye. Belov) find that they can unite into one China by peaceful means, then there will no longer be a need to sell arms to Taiwan." Leaving aside the fact that this statement by the U.S. president is in itself interference in the internal affairs of China, it causes one to give thought to another question as well: Is a peaceful unification of China at all possible when the United States is providing military, economic, political and financial aid to Taiwan?

In recent years, China has begun an extensive political campaign directed toward "returning Taiwan to the bosom of the motherland" on the basis of the nine points for the "peaceful unification of Taiwan with the PRC" put forth in September 1981 by Ye Jianying, member of the Standing Committee of the CCP Central Committee. These points, in particular, foresee the holding of negotiations between the CCP and the Kuomintang; the granting of the status of a special administrative region to Taiwan after reunification; the preservation of its own armed forces; and the preservation of the socioeconomic and political order now prevailing on the island. From the Taiwan regime, Beijing demands the recognition of the sovereignty of the PRC and the coordination with Taiwan of the bases of its own foreign policy.

PRC leaders, however, never gave any assurances that the only way to resolve the Taiwan question is the path of peace and peaceful reunification. According

to a report by the Taipei information agency CENTRAL NEWS, Zhao Ziyang, premier of the state council, declared in Stockholm in June 1984 during his trip to Western Europe that the PRC Government is making an effort to reunite Taiwan by peaceful means, but "does not exclude the possibility of resolving the Taiwan question with the help of force."

Sensing the support of the United States, the ringleaders of the Kuomintang regime on Taiwan are rejecting any negotiations with the Beijing government based on its concessions. As a preliminary condition for the beginning of negotiations, they suggest the renunciation of "communist doctrine" by the CCP and the creation in continental China of a "democratic government" based upon the three principles of Sun Yat-Sen, that is, they demand that the PRC become a bourgeois state. Would such impudent demands by the Taiwan Kuomintang be possible if they did not have the protection and support of such a powerful protector as American imperialism?

The United States is pursuing a "two Chinas" policy above all based upon military and strategic considerations. As late as December 1949, Gen D. MacArthur openly came forward in support of keeping the island in the American sphere of influence. His argument was that the PRC, in taking Taiwan, "would threaten" Japan and the Philippines and would push the "defense" of the United States out into the Mariana and Hawaiian islands. He described Taiwan as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" that can ensure the supremacy of American aviation over all Asian ports "from Vladivostok to Singapore."

At the present time, the United States is conducting large-scale military preparations in the Pacific Ocean, and it is actively including Japan in this process. The American-Japanese military alliance is being strengthened, and South Korea is being brought into it. All of this seriously destabilizes the situation in Southeast Asia and creates tension on the borders of the Soviet Union and other states of the region. It appears that Washington, in strengthening its military power in the Pacific Ocean basin, will in any case strive to maintain control over Taiwan, which has great strategic significance.

On 15 November 1983, the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress adopted the so-called resolution "on the future of Taiwan." In it is asserted that the future of this Chinese island must be decided in a way "acceptable for the people of Taiwan and in accordance with the laws passed by the U.S. Congress." In a note to the U.S. Government, the PRC Government protested this decision of the members of Congress. On 8 December 1983, the Standing Committee of the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives condemned the attempts of the U.S. Congress to create "two Chinas" as "gross interference in internal Chinese affairs and a violation of the standards of international relations."

These protests by Beijing occurred after the visit to China in September 1983 of C. Weinberger, U.S. defense minister--a visit which, in our opinion, was a remarkable landmark in the Chinese-American relations of recent years. On behalf of the U.S. administration, the Pentagon chief made an offer to Chinese leaders to provide significant aid to China in modernizing its economic system and he gave them a list of those types of weapons and military equipment that

the United States is prepared to let China have. It was then that the Chinese leaders agreed to an official visit of Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council, to the United States--a visit that had been postponed during the course of more than 2 years largely because of differences between China and the United States on the Taiwan question--and they invited R. Reagan to visit the PRC. And it was also then that the question was decided on the visit of Zhang Aiping, PRC minister of defense, to the United States. Thus, Beijing took the course of drawing closer to and improving relations with Washington, even though the position of the White House on Taiwan remained unchanged. Actually having put aside the resolution of this question in the interests of improving Chinese-American relations, Beijing made a clear concession to Washington.

Whereas prior to the visit of C. Weinberger Beijing's anti-American protests reflected the line of the Chinese leadership--albeit insufficiently firm and insufficiently consistent--to force the United States to change its policy in relation to Taiwan (for this purpose Beijing in the years 1981-1982 permitted a worsening of relations with Washington), after the visit of the Pentagon chief these protests began to a significant degree to be speculative in nature. In its criticism of Washington for its "two Chinas" policy, Beijing is seeking to achieve better conditions in negotiations with the United States so as to gain from it more equipment, technology and arms for itself. The anti-American protests are also needed by Beijing's leaders so that they can demonstrate to the Chinese public their "right-mindedness" in the Taiwan question.

Although at the time of the visit of Zhao Ziyang to the United States (10th through the 16th of January 1984) and of the visit of R. Reagan to the PRC (26 April through 1 May 1984) Chinese leaders declared that the Taiwan problem is a "key" problem in Chinese-American relations, negotiations on this problem were merely pro forma on the part of the Chinese. As reported by Western news agencies, during the negotiations of many hours in Beijing between Zhao Ziyang and R. Reagan, the discussion of the Taiwan question took less than 5 minutes. And according to a report in the American press, when Zhang Aiping, PRC defense minister, visited the United States (11th through the 23rd of June 1984) for negotiations with R. Reagan, C. Weinberger and other officials in the Washington administration, he did not even raise the question of Taiwan. And that is understandable. How could he, let us say, demand that the United States not sell arms to Taiwan when he himself came there to ask for arms?

The reciprocal visits of C. Weinberger and Zhang Aiping are establishing the foundation for military cooperation between China and the United States. But at the same time, the Washington administration once again demonstrated extremely clearly its "two Chinas" policy during the stay of the Chinese defense minister in the United States. On 20 June 1984, the Pentagon officially announced its intention to sell to Taiwan 12 C-130 military transport aircraft of the latest modification for a total of \$325 million.

Thus, Chinese-American relations are developing, even though no progress is being observed in solving the Taiwan problem. The ruling circles of the United States are continuing to steer a course for "two Chinas," doing everything they can so as not to lose control over the island.

The position of the Soviet Union on the Taiwan question was always one of high principles and consistency. It invariably respected the sovereign right of the PRC to Taiwan and other off-shore islands occupied by the Kuomintang grouping. Over the course of more than 20 years, our country fought for the expulsion of the Taiwanese Kuomintang from the United Nations and for the reestablishment of the legal rights of the PRC in this international organization. In 1971, the 26th Session of the UN General Assembly adopted precisely this just decision. In all international forums, the USSR has invariably spoken out against the imperialist "two Chinas" policy.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### JORDAN'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS, FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 40-43

[Article by Ye. Aleksandrov and A. Filosayev: "The Country's New Look"]

[Excerpts] From time immemorial, trade routes linking the centers of Eastern civilizations have passed through the rocky lands where present-day Jordan is located. Today it is an independent Arab state headed by King Hussein Ibn Talal, a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral parliament, the functions of which are now being carried out by the National Consultative Council. The country has been subjected to Israeli aggression, and the West Bank of the Jordan River, part of the country until 1967, is occupied by interventionists. The forces of imperialism weave political intrigue around Jordan and employ military blackmail, seeking to draw the country into the process of an American-style Middle East settlement so that they can strengthen their positions in this region.

#### A Strategy for Economic Development

An important direction in the increase in the effectiveness of the national economy is active work in uncovering useful minerals. The exploration that has been done has determined industrial deposits of copper, lead and molybdenum as well as deposits of granite and marble. Exploration is also under way for petroleum, and large deposits of combustible shale were discovered during this exploration. Without doubt, however, Jordan's "vein of gold" can be considered to be the phosphorites, whose reserves exceed 1.5 billion tons. Also promising is the mining of potassium salts (2 billion tons).

In conversation, technical specialists--and not only they--often stress: "The phosphorites are our national fortune, and we want to use it so that it serves the country and all of the people."

The development of the phosphoritic deposits is the main backbone of the Jordanian ore mining industry and is a very important stimulator of the growth of the processing industry. Other sectors of production are also developing relatively rapidly. In the last 5 to 7 years, large-scale enterprises in the construction industry, oil refining and the chemical industry have begun operations. In becoming familiar with the country, you see more and more new signs of the times: building wings under construction for industrial enterprises, infrastructural projects, and thermal electric power stations. The national

economy is developing, but its gradual movement forward is accompanied by great difficulties arising from the continual acute shortage of foreign exchange and financial resources, power sources, and foodstuffs. This forces the country to turn regularly to the fat purse of the oil producing Arab states and to the capitalist West, which creates a real threat to its independence in the political area and brings about a serious financial and technological dependence for many years to come. Under these conditions, Jordan has some possibility of easing its situation through the establishment of sectors that replace imports. And here the country must travel an unbeaten path. For the national industry is still predominantly represented by enterprises in light industry, which are not in a position to provide for rapid economic growth or to bring technical progress.

The attachment to the world capitalist economy is being felt. Almost all of the equipment for industry, agriculture and the infrastructure is supplied by Western nations. To the extent that they can, however, the Jordanians strive to rely on their own possibilities in using technical means, resorting to the services of foreign specialists only for the very short time needed for the training of their own key personnel. For example, "Alia," the national civil aviation company, not only operates and services contemporary "Boeings" with exclusively Jordanian forces but it also successfully trains the flying and technical personnel for other Arab countries. And this, after all, is a very complicated business linked with the knowledge of the latest achievements in the area of technology and electronics and with the ability to handle the most advanced equipment and to control the most delicate processes.

The economic development of Jordan depends not only upon foreign technology but also upon financial aid, the largest part of which comes from the oil producing Arab countries. The money remittances of Jordanians living abroad (310,000 people in 1981), the sum of which reaches \$1 billion, and the income from tourism, estimated at \$500 million, serve to help. Nevertheless, these income sources alone are not capable of satisfying the country's growing demands for financial resources, and Jordan continually has difficulty making ends meet. Also having a negative impact on its possibilities is the steadily increasing foreign trade deficit as a result of the continual price rise in the world market for the basic items that Jordan imports, items such as machines, equipment, foodstuffs and, in part, petroleum.

With the purpose of diversifying its contacts in the foreign market and its foreign trade turnover, Jordan is showing an interest in expanding trading and economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries. In this connection, cooperation with the Soviet Union involves such an extremely important area for Jordan as the utilization of combustible shale for obtaining electric power.

The industrious people of Jordan are striving to pull themselves out of the swamp of backwardness, employing for this purpose all possibilities and relying on the economic potential that has already been created and upon the country's natural wealth. But a small country like Jordan that is relatively poor in resources can count on success in achieving economic independence only in a tranquil international climate. Having been one of the victims of Israeli



aggression in 1967, it continues to live under conditions of constant threat from Israeli expansionists.

#### In the Face of the American-Israeli Alliance

Jordan is a direct participant in all Middle East events. It was more than once subjected to armed attacks by Israel. The West Bank, now so far away for the inhabitants of the country, is actually quite close by, being only a half-hour drive from Amman. The friends and relatives of many Palestinians now living in Jordan, where they were driven from their native lands by Israeli invaders, remained behind in the occupied territories.

The patrols of the Jordanian Army that stop and control every vehicle headed in the direction of the shore of the Dead Sea, the favorite recreation spot of Jordanians, are a reminder of the dangerous proximity of the Israeli troops. Not far from here rises the bronze figure of a soldier with a rifle in his arms. It is the memorial to the Unknown Soldier, erected at the place of battles in 1968, when Israel sought to invade the east bank of the Jordan River.

At the present time, Jordan is experiencing the difficulties resulting from the fact that the Middle East problem has not been settled. Along with other Arab states, therefore, it is actively opposing the aggressive policies of Israel, coming out in favor of a solution to the conflict that would help to get the Israeli troops out of all occupied Arab territories and would help to reestablish the legitimate rights of Palestine's Arab people.

The search, however, for a fair and comprehensive settlement of the problem is regularly frustrated by American imperialism, the Middle East policies of which ignore the vital interests of the Arab peoples and in particular of the Palestinian people, heighten international tension in the region, and have become one of the elements in the global undermining of detente.

The aggressiveness of Tel Aviv is actively supported by the American administration, which is mobilizing the military potential of this country to guarantee its own strategic interests in the region.

As acknowledged by the American press, Jordan is extremely important for the plan for the establishment of "peace" in the Middle East presented by President Reagan. They are promising Jordan aircraft and rockets as an advance prior to negotiations, with promises of a quantitative and qualitative increase in military aid if negotiations do begin. But the Arabs know the true cost of Washington's promises, and Jordan, despite the efforts of the United States to "attach" it to the Camp David process, is refraining from taking the position toward which it is being nudged by Israel's overseas protectors. King Hussein has repeatedly noted that his country rejects the role prepared for it.

Having become involved in the struggle for the establishment of a just peace, Jordan is actively defending the political line specified at the inter-Arab summit conferences in Baghdad, Tunis and Fes. At the same time, the Jordanian leadership is giving due recognition to Soviet policy in the Middle East as an

important factor in support of the proper cause of the Arabs. At the time of his visit to the Soviet Union in December 1982, King Hussein emphasized that the USSR enjoys tremendous authority in the Arab world because of its consistent struggle for peace and international security.

The just and concerned approach of the Soviet Union to the resolution of the urgent problems of the Middle East has won it respect and understanding in the most varied public circles of the Arab countries. Here there is a strengthening of the conviction that not a single problem today, including the Middle East problem, can be solved without the weighty word of the Soviet Union. This truth was confirmed once again by the numerous responses in the Arab world to the recent Soviet proposals for solving the potentially explosive situation in the Middle East.

Jordan greatly appreciates the efforts of the Soviet Union in its sincere striving to eliminate tension in the Arab region. During his official visit to Moscow, King Hussein declared that "no one other than the friendly Soviet Union...supports Jordan and the principles upon which an honest peace in our region must be based."

Jordan is living through a difficult stage in its history. Its courageous people, however, are full of determination to defend their independence and sovereignty in the face of the American-Israeli alliance. The consciousness of the equity of its own cause and the support of the world's progressive forces help it to struggle resolutely for a lasting peace and the right to a secure existence.

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INTERNATIONAL

SOUTH KOREA'S 20-YEAR SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 44-47

[Article by I. Shin: "South Korea: Basic Trends in Its Social Development 1960-1980"]

[Text] The economic system of South Korea, being agrarian in nature at the beginning of the 1960's, has acquired an industrial-agrarian structure. During the years 1960 through 1981, the relative share of the extractive and processing industry in the gross national product more than doubled, increasing from 14.7 to 35.5 percent, and the share of agriculture, forestry and fishing (the official South Korean statistics always give them together) was halved, declining from 36 to 18 percent. A leading position in the industrial structure belongs to the processing sectors (above all heavy industry), which make up more than one-third of the gross national product.

The South Korean economy constantly and to an increasing degree depends upon other countries of capital. Thus, in 1983, the foreign debt of South Korea was equal to \$38.2 billion. There are 869 foreign firms operating in the country. The main flow of foreign capital is into the processing industry, primarily into contemporary science-intensive sectors and into the development of tourism. In the period 1962 through 1983, foreign investment amounted to \$1.4 billion, whereby more than half of this sum came from Japan and about one-third from the United States.

Capitalist industrialization and high rates of economic growth brought about an increase in the demand for manpower and accelerated the process of bringing women and children into various sectors of the economy. As a result, employment in South Korea almost doubled in the years 1961 through 1982, increasing from 7.94 million to 14.424 million people.

There were substantial changes in the social composition of the employed population. According to the classification adopted by the United Nations, the following social groups are distinguished: independent owners, assisting family members, and wage laborers. This classification is rather vague, for it leads to the mixing in one category of persons differing in the social position that they hold as well as in their participation in the production process. For example, the group of wage employees includes both workers and representatives of the middle strata and the bourgeoisie (top-level managers), and the group of independent owners includes the petty bourgeoisie as well as

capitalists. Nevertheless, based upon official documents on the social composition of the independent population of South Korea, it does appear possible to pursue several general trends in its development.

The proportion of independent owners declined by 1980 to two-thirds of the 1960 level, falling from 46.76 to 33.9 percent. Their absolute numbers increased, however, which was mainly linked to the activation of small-scale enterprise and an expansion of the services area.

In regard to the group of assisting family members, there was a reduction not only of its relative share, which declined from 30.39 percent in 1960 to 18.8 percent in 1980, but also in its absolute numbers, as the assisting family members were rapidly absorbed by the area of capitalist hiring.

The army of wage labor increased rather intensively, both in relative and in absolute terms. The relative share of wage workers in the gainfully employed population increased from 22.05 percent in 1960 to 40 percent in 1980. Every 10 years on the average, the number of wage workers in the country doubled. This means that during the indicated period in South Korea there was a great expansion of the process of the proletarianization of the population.

The sectorial structure of the employed population also changed, and this was brought about by the predominant development of industry and the infrastructure. In the years 1963 through 1982, the relative share of the gainfully employed population in agriculture sectors declined to little more than half of the original level (from 63 to 32 percent). There was a sharp increase in the share of those employed in industry, more than doubling (from 8.7 to 21 percent), as well as in the services area, where the share increased by a factor of more than 1.5 (from 28.2 to 46.1 percent).

The size of the South Korean working class grew at a rapid rate. Its industrial core grew especially intensively--an average of 12 percent annually. In 1960, there were only 525,000 people employed in the extracting and processing industry, but there were about 2 million by 1980. That is, the number of factory and plant workers almost quadrupled in 20 years. In 1982, the total number of workers in South Korea was about 3.3 million.

The largest group in the South Korean working class is the industrial group. It accounts for 92.3 percent of all workers (author's calculation). The workers of the extracting and processing industry are the foundation of this group (68 percent of industrial workers or 60 percent of the entire South Korean working class). Also included in this group are construction and transport workers and workers in warehousing and municipal services.

Two other groups of South Korean workers--trade and office workers and agricultural workers--account for 7.3 percent and 0.4 percent of the total, respectively.

In the structure of South Korean workers by sex and age, there was an increase in the relative share of women and children. The number of women workers doubled, and their share is now more than one-third. The labor of women is

utilized primarily in the textile, sewn goods and footwear industries. A greater and greater number of children and adolescents is also being drawn into the system of capitalist exploitation. There was a sharp increase in the 1970's in the number of workers under 18 years of age.

There was an increase in the level of occupational training and skills of South Korean workers. In 1960, 26.2 percent of workers were illiterate, 54 percent had a primary education, 18.5 percent a partial secondary education, and 1.1 percent had a complete secondary education. By 1970, the proportion of workers without a primary education had declined to 9 percent and, at the same time, the share of workers having completed primary and partial secondary schooling reached 88 percent. Three percent had a complete secondary education.

In the following years, there was further development in the trend toward a higher overall educational level for South Korean workers. One can make this judgment based upon the 1980 data on the educational level of the entire population of South Korea, since there is no corresponding data on the working class. In 1980, the entire population of the country had a primary (compulsory) education, 72 percent had received a partial secondary education, 40 percent had a complete secondary education, and 8.4 percent had a higher education.

The process of concentration of the working class is intensifying, and this was brought about by the development of monopolistic tendencies in the country's economic system. In the years 1963 through 1980, the proportion of workers employed in large-scale enterprises (over 300 employees) increased by a factor of 1.6, from 34 to 54 percent. Their absolute number increased by a factor of 10, from 135,000 to 1,353,000. The increase in the share of workers in large-scale enterprises occurred through a decline in the number of workers at small (5 to 20 employees) and medium-sized (20 to 300 employees) enterprises.

The extensive use of the cheap labor of women (the average wage of women is 44.5 percent of that of men) and also the cruel repressive measures of the ruling regime as well as the low level of political consciousness and organization of workers have brought about the existence in South Korea of one of the lowest wage levels in Asia.

In 1980, according to official statistics, the average monthly wage of an industrial worker was 150,328 won. A higher wage is received by the workers of the enterprises for municipal services, transport and general machine building, and the construction, extraction, paper, food and chemical industries. The lowest wage level is found in those sectors where either they employ the labor of women or the unskilled (in the textile industry, for example) or there is a predominance of small enterprises (as in the furniture and wood-working industry).

Only a small proportion of workers have a relatively high wage (for South Korea). Just 16.8 percent of the workers receive a wage adequate to provide the minimum needed for subsistence, and 78.8 percent of all South Korean

workers are below the officially established "poverty line." The occasional increase in the wage paid to workers does not lead to an improvement in their economic situation, for the cost of living is rising rapidly. It increased by a factor of 2.7 during the years 1975 through 1981.

In addition, the increase in the wage is accompanied by an intensification of the exploitation of the workers and by a lengthening of the work day. According to official statistics, the average length of the work week in the processing industry is 53.7 hours (about 9 hours a day). At most South Korean enterprises, however, the actual work day is even longer (10 to 12 hours and 14 hours at some factories).

The disregard of employers for safety measures leads to the fact that production injuries have reached serious proportions. In 1980, there were 113,375 accidents in production, and 1,273 of them resulted in fatalities.

As a result of the persistent struggle of workers for their rights, labor legislation was adopted in South Korea in 1953. Under the conditions of the growing working class movement, the government of Syngman Rhee was forced to make some concessions, adopting a number of labor laws in which the basic rights of workers are secured. When Park Chong-hui came to power, the ruling circles began an attack on the working class. The amendments to the labor legislation that were adopted in 1963, 1973 and 1974 reflected the increasing severity of the regime's anti-working class policy. Chun Doo Hwan, the current head of the Seoul administration, is pursuing an even harsher course in relation to the working class, which has finally been deprived of absolutely all rights as a result of the review of labor legislation in 1980.

One of the reasons why the policies of the government toward the workers are not meeting a sufficiently determined and organized resistance by the workers is the low level of political awareness of the proletariat because of its youth. The workers have come mainly from the rural areas, which also explains the presence of such features in their social and psychological make-up as petty bourgeois individualism, an inclination toward extreme forms of protest (self-immolation, for example), and susceptibility to social demagoguery and the national and anticommunist propaganda of the ruling regime.

The mass migration to the cities led to a sharp decline in the rural population, which led to the appearance of new features in the social make-up of the South Korean countryside.

In the rural areas, there was an acceleration of the process of the disintegration of the large patriarchal families and the appearance of numerous nuclear (composed of two people--man and wife) and so-called incomplete families. Whereas in 1966 the relative share of families of the traditional type was 23.3 percent, and the nuclear and incomplete families accounted for 66.8 and 9.9 percent, respectively, the relationship between them in 1975 was 13, 71 and 15 percent, respectively.

The dissolution of the feudal family clans was accelerated by the process of capitalist industrialization leading to an increase in urbanization. There



was an especially large increase in the number of inhabitants of the capital city of Seoul, in which one-tenth of the population of the country lived in 1960 but about one-fifth (8.5 million people) in 1980. Three-fourths of the entire urban population of the country is concentrated in Seoul and three other "million-plus" cities of South Korea (Pusan, Taegu and Incheon). This urban population tripled during the years 1960 through 1980 (from 7 million to 21.4 million).

It is mainly young people (mostly young men) who are leaving the rural areas. As a result, one observes a rapid "aging" of the rural population. According to 1980 data, people 40 years of age and older accounted for 59.4 percent of rural manpower compared with 47.6 percent in 1975.

The reduction in the rural population is occurring primarily at the cost of the poorest elements of the rural petty bourgeoisie composed mainly of owners of parcels of land of less than 0.5 hectare. In the period 1960 through 1975, the relatively share of the smallest farms declined from 47 to 29 percent.

To a greater and greater extent, the peasants of this group are becoming semi-proletarian elements. Nonagrarian sectors are the main areas of their labor. This is the result of the fact that in the agricultural economy of South Korea permanent wage labor is not extensive because of the predominance of small and medium-sized farms, where they basically use the labor of family members.

In recent years, because of the shortage of manpower in agriculture, the peasants are more actively resorting to hiring seasonal workers, the majority of whom are migrant workers. As a whole, however, the result of the increased technical mechanization of agriculture is that outside labor is being used less and less.

In connection with the aforesaid, the devastation of the small-scale landowners is not being accompanied by the sale of manpower in the countryside itself but is resulting in the flow of peasants to the nonagricultural sectors of production. About half of all industrial enterprises in South Korea are located in rural areas, and one-fourth of the country's workers are employed there. The overwhelming majority of them were formerly the poorest peasants. For these people, nonagricultural income is the main means of subsistence.

There is a strengthening and further expansion of the largest stratum of South Korean peasantry, those possessing parcels of from 0.5 to 2 hectares. In the years 1963 through 1975, their relative share increased from 51 to 61 percent. Agriculture is their main source of income, but nonagricultural sources of income are very significant, especially for the owners of parcels of from 0.5 to 1 hectare. As the area of the cultivated land increases, the share of nonagricultural income declines.

The owners of parcels of from 2 to 3 hectares represent the elite of South Korea's rural petty bourgeoisie. They are rather prosperous owners with a close affinity to the rural capitalists, for the possession of such parcels under the conditions of a well-established irrigation system and the receipt of two or three harvests annually gives their owners quite large profits. Their number is gradually declining (by about 1 percent during the years 1960

through 1970) in connection with the passage of individual representatives of this category into the class of the rural bourgeoisie.

Among the rural capitalists are relatively large-scale (for South Korea's standards) landowners with more than 3 hectares. The South Korean rural bourgeoisie is small in numbers, but it is showing a tendency to grow rather dynamically. From 1960 through 1970, its relatively share increased from 0.3 to 1.6 percent.

Thus, the process of class differentiation in the South Korean countryside during the years 1960 through 1980 took place in the form of an exclusion of the poorest peasants from agricultural production (regardless of whether or not they kept their plots) and an increase in the share of large-scale farms.

Serious changes also occurred in the group of the urban middle strata. In contrast to the peasantry, the stratum of the urban petty bourgeoisie not only maintained its positions during the period of structural changes in the South Korean economic system but it grew by more than 2 million people during the period under review.

The overwhelming majority--more than 80 percent--of small-scale urban property owners is concentrated in trade and the services area, and about 20 percent are in the extracting and processing industries.

The generally low level of income of the urban petty bourgeoisie limits the possibilities for it to hire manpower. Therefore, the basis for the existence of the small-scale independent farms is the intensive labor of the petty bourgeois themselves and of their family members.

Capitalist industrialization and its rapid pace produced a sharp increase in the demand for people to do mental work, above all for highly qualified technical specialists.

In the years 1960 through 1980, the absolute size of the South Korean intelligentsia (scientific-technical specialists, persons in the free professions, etc.) increased by a factor of 2.7, and its relative share in the gainfully employed population increased by a factor of 1.5.

There was an even more abrupt acceleration in the absolute and relative growth of the group of white-collar workers (middle-level administrative and managerial workers, minor officials, etc.). In the years 1960 through 1980, their number increased by a factor of 4.9 and their share in the gainfully employed population by a factor of 2.2.

As a result of the reforms in the area of education carried out in 1980, it is obvious that in the near future there will be a process of further expansion of the "new" middle strata. These reforms were intended to bring about a rapid increase in the number of highly skilled industrial-trade and scientific personnel, the shortage of whom is a critical problem for South Korea.

The rapid expansion of the groups of wage workers in the middle strata is being accompanied by a change in the conditions of their existence. Until recently,



the overwhelming majority of white-collar workers was in a relatively privileged position (in the years 1960 through 1970, the salary of a specialist with a higher education was twice that of a worker with a complete secondary education), but now the position of the majority of white-collar employees (with the exception of the "upper echelon") is changing for the worse: the government of Chun Doo Hwan is following a course of freezing the wages not only of blue-collar but also of white-collar workers.

In the process of the development of South Korean capitalism, the class of the bourgeoisie also experienced significant changes.

Class differentiation is taking place within the South Korean bourgeoisie, which for a long time was a more or less homogeneous social group composed of the owners of small-scale enterprises.

The concentration and centralization of production and capital, which took place at an accelerated rate in South Korea, led to the separation of a local monopolistic bourgeoisie and to its transformation into the predominant stratum of capitalists. It includes the managers of the largest companies, each of which produces not less than 50 percent of the output of a given sector, or of a group of companies producing as a whole not less than 70 percent of the sector's output.

South Korean monopolies do not exist isolated from one another. Most of them belong to financial-industrial groups (chebols). In 1975, the country had 46 chebols, which accounted for 13.4 percent of the country's gross internal product. Twenty six of them are most influential, and outstanding among them are three powerful financial-industrial groups--"Hënde," "Tevu" and "Samson."

The so-called "general trading companies" play a leading role in the activity of the financial-industrial groups. They were established in 1975 by the South Korean Government and are large companies carrying on extensive foreign trade operations. To a greater and greater extent, the general trading companies are monopolizing the country's exports. At the beginning of the 1960's, the 10 general trading companies accounted for about half of South Korea's exports. In 1983, the volume of South Korea's foreign investments was \$33 billion. At the beginning of the 1980's, there were 150 international firms in South Korea with subordinate enterprises in 44 countries.

The increased foreign economic expansion of South Korean monopolies is also taking place in the form of the export of technology, which is occurring mainly through the construction of industrial projects abroad. At the beginning of the 1980's, 58 South Korean construction companies were operating in 34 countries of the world, competing with some success with Japanese, American and West European firms.

The South Korean monopolistic bourgeoisie is striving to extend its influence by penetrating into new areas such as the banking system and insurance, which were a state monopoly until the beginning of the 1980's. With the coming to power of Chun Doo Hwan in 1980, the conditions became favorable for the establishment of the predominance of South Korean monopolists in these areas as well. The new president began to denationalize the country's leading banks and insurance companies.

The absorption of financial institutions by the largest South Korean monopolies means the appearance of a new form of monopoly in the country's economic system. This is the monopoly of concerns where the property of one company includes industrial enterprises, banks, and trade and insurance companies. In this connection, it appears possible to say that at the present time in South Korea a process is beginning that involves the merging of industrial and banking capital and the formation of financial capital and the financial oligarchy that personifies it.

South Korean monopolies are exercising more and more influence on the state. An important role in this is being played by four leading organizations of large-scale capital--the Federation of Korean Entrepreneurs, the Federation of Korean Industrialists, the Korean Trade Association, and the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

As the monopolistic bourgeoisie in South Korea becomes more dominant, the role of small and medium-sized entrepreneurs diminishes. They do, however, continue to represent the overwhelming majority of the class of South Korean capitalists. In 1980, small and medium-sized enterprises accounted for 96.9 percent of all enterprises.

Thus, in the years 1960 through 1980 as a result of the accelerated modernization of capitalism in the development of the social structure of South Korean society, some new trends became apparent. There was an increase in the size of the working class and in the number of wage earners; there was a decline in the number of peasants and in the size of the entire group of middle strata as a whole; the relative share of capitalist property owners declined; the monopolistic bourgeoisie became more predominant; and a financial oligarchy formed.

The above-mentioned structural changes in the social development of South Korea are accompanied by an intensification of all social contradictions inherent in capitalism.

Thus, as a result of the forced development of capitalism in the years 1960 through 1980, the South Korean society has undergone some serious changes. Their essence is seen, in the first place, in the transformation of the social structure of South Korea into a social structure of the capitalist type and, in the second place, in the intensification of old and the rise of new contradictions in capitalist development.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OF ASIAN STATES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 p 62

[Review by Yu. Irkhin, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Sotsial'naya revolyutsiya i vlast' v stranakh Vostoka" [Social Revolution and Power in the Countries of the East] by V.F. Li, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1984, 286 pages]

[Text] The book being reviewed is devoted to the investigation of the current and extremely complicated process--as yet inadequately studied by Soviet and progressive foreign Orientalists and Africanists--of the genesis and development of national-democratic revolutions. In practice, it is one of the first attempts at an overall analysis of the inherent laws and features of the formation and development of the political superstructure in those countries of the East where such revolutions are carried out.

A solid Marxist-Leninist methodological basis and a broad approach to the questions under review permitted the author to analyze in depth the central social and political problems of the revolutionary process in the countries of the East and to be consistent in disclosing the latest bourgeois falsifications in this area.

It is especially important to note that the author was able to develop and successfully utilize original methods of researching noncapitalist development. Among these methods, for example, is the comparative analysis of the rise and evolution of a new political superstructure both in the countries of noncapitalist development headed by vanguard worker parties (Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and others) as well as in states run by anti-imperialist, democratic petty bourgeois parties (Algeria, Burma and Syria). Very interesting and productive scientifically is the author's separation of the categories "national-patriotic democracy," "characterized by the political authority of a coalition of the middle strata, especially the petty bourgeois forces," and the "revolutionary democracy of the working masses," personifying "the democratic dictatorship of the bloc of nonproletarian strata of the urban and rural workers and the developing working class" (pp 33-34). In the work, the question is also justifiably raised about the corresponding tendencies of noncapitalist development, its staged nature and special features.

The author consistently comes out against the leftist tendency to skip over objectively necessary phases in the transition of economically backward

countries to socialism. He rightly stresses that the "national democratic revolutions in the countries of Asia and Africa...have taken only the first steps...toward real socialism" (p 263). At the same time, he convincingly establishes the point that "the revolutionary practice of the radical flank of noncapitalist development allows one to speak of the rise of a transitional variant of people's democracy called upon to prepare the preconditions for the implementation of socialist reforms" (p 35). Being in complete solidarity with this thought of the author, we merely note that in some countries the above-indicated historically necessary phase of development can also be seen as the final stage in a national democratic revolution.

The author was able to avoid the gap between general theoretical concepts and a specific analysis of the social and class structure of the liberated countries, a difference that is inherent in some philosophical-sociological works on questions of the national liberation movement. A distinguishing feature both of this monograph as well as of the previous works of V. Li is the profound class analysis of the role of the middle strata, the intelligentsia and the nonproletarian strata of the workers who form the working class of the developing countries. It is proper that on the basis of many theoretical constructions of the author there is new empirical material on the social structure of the countries of noncapitalist development.

The book reviews in detail such a complex and little-studied problem as the special features of the interaction of the base and the superstructure under the conditions of noncapitalist development. Comprehensively analyzing this process, the author uses rich factual material to show the positive changes in the mixed economic system of the corresponding countries.

A characteristic feature of the book under review is its creative and debatable-controversial nature. The author, in logically analyzing the fundamental problems in the formation and functioning of the political superstructure in a number of countries of the East, in examining the numerous points of view on this process, and in adducing the latest data, brings the reader, as it were, into his science laboratory. It is very important that each chapter and each section of the monograph is strictly logical and consistent and without fail ends with conclusions and recommendations. Without doubt, the work of V. Li, being a solid scientific analysis, can also be useful as a textbook, even though it does contain several disputable and insufficiently convincing judgments. There are "blank spaces" in the book (the role of the army institutes, the special features of the political culture of the developing countries, etc.).

As a whole, however, this work, being distinguished by the topicality of the subject, the newness of the approach, and the depth of the analysis, helps the reader to discern and understand more profoundly the dialectics of the revolutionary processes in the countries of the East, and to have an idea of the very complex problems in their difficult but in a number of cases already irreversible transition to a socialist future.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK CRITICIZING U.S. POLICY IN INDIAN OCEAN REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 62-63

[Review by L. Cherkasskiy, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Politika SShA v Indiyskom okeane" [U.S. Policy in the Indian Ocean] by A.V. Krutskikh, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1984, 255 pages]

[Text] The theme of the investigation undertaken by A. V. Krutskikh is important and topical. The author concentrated his main attention on the analysis of the policy of the United States in the region of the Indian Ocean as a whole, from the initial to the contemporary and more dangerous stage of expansionism. He critically analyzes the conceptual basis of this policy, in particular the doctrines of Nixon and Carter-Brzezinski, and the strategic orientations of the Reagan Administration. He also takes a retrospective look at other American foreign policy doctrines that to some extent affected this region, and he shows their historical continuity and connection with the Eisenhower Doctrine determining at the end of the 1950's U.S. policy in relation to the countries of the Middle East. The author is convinced that the strategy of "containing communism" involving global anti-Sovietism continues to be the main guide for American politicians.

The book examines in detail the specific military and political programs being carried out by American imperialism in the Indian Ocean, and it examines such new elements in these programs as, for example, the complex of measures to create "rapid deployment forces" to carry out "operational aggression" against the countries of the Indian Ocean basin. The book presents interesting information on the penetration of American monopolies into India, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia and on the arms trade.

The work includes an in-depth and comprehensive description of the military presence of the United States in the region. The author unmaskes the attempts by Washington to blame the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the tension in the basin of the Indian Ocean, and he shows the lack of convincingness of the propaganda theme of leading circles in the United States about "ensuring stability," which in reality means an arms race and the permanent concentration of American military power in this part of the world as well as the creation of so-called regional balances of power with the antagonism of some countries or groups of countries to others. In reality, "ensuring stability" leads to an increase in the system of imperialist exploitation in the Indian Ocean region and thus hinders progressive social changes in the life of

the nations. As an alternative to the foreign policy course of the United States in the Indian Ocean Basin, the work examines the foreign policy initiatives of the coastal countries interested in the peaceful future of their region, and it reveals the high-minded approach of the USSR to the resolution of the key political problems of these countries and the constructive nature of the Soviet position in the questions of settling local conflicts, eliminating military tension and providing for security.

A.V. Krutskikh made scientific use of significant historical and social material, little-known official documentary publications of the U.S. Government, and other important sources. A critical evaluation of the views of bourgeois investigators and well-founded arguments against Western scientists are the undoubted merits of the monograph.

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NATIONAL

FEDIRKO, SCULPTOR KERBEL' ON CHERNENKO YEARS IN KRASNOYARSK

Moscow MOSKVA in Russian No 9, Sep 84 pp 16-17

/Conversation between Pavel Stefanovich Fedirko, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk kraykom CPSU, and sculptor Lev Yefimovich Kerbel'7

/Excerpt/ Fedirko: Now we are approaching the place which has drawn the people of Krasnoyarsk since 22 September 1982. It fills their hearts with a special pride for their kray. It was on that day when the bronze bust of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko was unveiled.

The Siberians know our party and state leader as a person whose life has been exceptional and yet true to the national spirit.

Kerbel': As I see it, his life symbolizes the new era which was opened up by the great October Revolution.

Fedirko: That is quite right. Consider it again. After the death of his mother he became a herdsboy and then worked for hire for the local kulaks. From the age of nine he has been accustomed to doing the work of a grown man. When he was still very young, a youth one could say, he joined the Komsomol. Thus, he took a direct part in consolidating the achievements of the revolution in his native region.

Kerbel': By the time he was 18 he was a department head in the Novoselovskiy rayon committee of the Komsomol....

Fedirko: And he became one of the acknowledged leaders of the local Komsomol organization which recognized his devotion to the cause of the October Revolution, pursuit of knowledge and desire to do his utmost for the welfare of the young Land of the Soviets.

Kerbel': After joining the Red Army as a volunteer, Konstantin Ustinovich served on the border, a difficult and at that time particularly dangerous duty.

Fedirko: That is true. And we know that he fulfilled his military service for his Motherland with honor and courage. When he was 20 and still in the army he was accepted as a member of our party. After returning to his native region, a tempered fighter and mature Communist, he immediately became involved



in party work and advanced from department head of a rayon party committee to secretary of the kray party committee.

The older Krasnoyarsk generation well remembers the great contribution Konstantin Ustinovich made in those years to the development of the production capacities, science and culture of the kray. They also remember the active and creative part he played in educating the workers in Communist ideals and the variety of means he employed in his daily activities to ideologically influence the people. They recall how he strove to meet with the workers of the kray as often as possible, presented them meaningful, interesting and emotional reports, gave lectures on the most urgent issues and also found time to actively contribute to the party press.

In the grim time at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the party assigned him the most difficult and demanding task of mobilizing the workers of the kray to do their utmost to support the front. Konstantin Ustinovich not only endured the burdens of the war years along with all the people of Krasnoyarsk but also, through his personal example and his passionate party oratory, helped to forge our great victory over Fascism....

He understands the people of Krasnoyarsk and the mighty potential of his native kray. He has not broken his strong bond with it and continually helps us to comprehensively develop the productive forces of the Krasnoyarsk area. Despite the rigors of his job as leader of the party and country and the demands on his time, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko has visited our kray twice, in 1978 and 1982, and became closely acquainted with all of its affairs and plans. This inspires us.

Such are the thoughts and associations evoked by your sculpture of our outstanding fellow countryman.

Kerbel': Strictly speaking, I only attempted to render a true representation of the personality of our hero.

Fedirko: And you reproduced with a high degree of artistic naturalness not only his outward appearance but also the multifaceted aspects of his character and inner world....

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NATIONAL

MOSCOW PATRIARCH LAUDS USSR ARMS POLICY, CONDEMNS UNITED STATES

Moscow ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII in Russian No 10, Oct 84 (signed to press 19 Oct 84) pp 31-32

/Article by Pimen, patriarch of Moscow and All Russia: "The Regional UN Conference Under the Auspices of the World Disarmament Campaign, Leningrad, 11-16 June 1984: Salutation of Pimen, the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia to the Participants of the Regional Conference"

/Text/ Most Highly-respected Participants of the Region UN Conference under the auspices of the World Disarmament Campaign!

From my heart I greet you who have gathered now within the borders of our beloved fatherland for discussion of one of the most vital questions of the modern age--the attainment of world disarmament.

In recent years the disarmament movement has indeed acquired a mass character. This is understandable, for it is directly connected with the problem of the defense and preservation of the blessed gift of life and of all God's creation from complete annihilation in the fire of a nuclear holocaust.

We consider the desire to attain military superiority through the production and accumulation of ever newer and newer weapons profoundly sinful, for the sinful and amoral ultimate purpose of these efforts is the acquisition of influence and power, if not over the entire world, then at least over part of it. And in this connection we cannot be silent about the reckless actions of the United States and several western European countries who have deployed new American nuclear weaponry on our continent.

Our great peace-loving state is doing all within its power to spare our fatherland and all peoples of the world from the threatening catastrophe. We are deeply gratified that the member countries of the United Nations perceive the numerous peaceful proposals of our country with great understanding. We pray to God that He will direct those who have still not fully recognized the danger threatening mankind to the path of peace (Luke I, 79).

The unremitting efforts of our Russian Orthodox Church are presently directed to the reduction and final elimination of tension in Europe and in other regions of the world, a cessation in the growth and improvement of nuclear, chemical

and other types of weapons of mass destruction, their complete elimination and the solution of all issues solely by peaceful means and on the basis of good will and mutual trust.

We Christians believe that the danger existing at the present time is not a law of the historical process. Being participants of God's promise of peace on earth (Isaiah 54, 10) we unite our efforts with the adherents of other world religions. One of the latest joint actions of this kind was the Round Table Conference of Theologians and Scientists-Experts on banning the use of outer space for military purposes, conducted at our invitation in Moscow in April 1984 as a development of the results of the memorable to all of us World Conference "Religious Figures for Saving the Blessed Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe" (1982). The participants in the Round Table Conference in their summary report emphasized that not one country not one distant island, not one person will be safe, if plans for placing weapons in space come to fruition. From a religious point of view, all of mankind is responsible for applying its knowledge and ability in such a way that the entire universe will become an expression of the glory and wisdom of God.

Allow me to wish you, dear brothers and sisters, blessed success in your work in reducing international tension, in searching for ways to general and complete disarmament. Let our efforts be directed truly to good works and to the creation of peace in all areas accessible to us and by all available means.

Moscow

8 June 1984

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NATIONAL

MORALITY OF SOCIALISM VIEWED

PM011506 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 85 First Edition pp 2-3

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A. Guseynov under the rubric "'Questions of Theory": "Socialism's Moral Values"]

[Text] Society's moral development is a very important part of the multifaceted process of improving the socialism we have built. "Morality," V. I. Lenin noted, "enables human society to rise higher...." (Complete Collected Works, vol 41, p 313). Socialist transformations are only final when they have become part of everyday life for the masses and taken root in mores and in the day-to-day forms of conscious social discipline.

The topicality of moral issues at the present time is determined by a whole series of factors.

In the conditions of developed socialism, the increased degree of socialization of labor means that the efficiency of economic, organizational and administrative activity is increasingly closely connected with social justice, the sense of responsibility, selflessness, and other lofty motives. And the gradual erasure of social class distinctions widens the opportunities for moral control and increases the effectiveness of moral evaluations. Both in theory and in practice, it must also be taken into account that the growth in material prosperity and the progressive alleviation of people's living conditions act as a kind of test of the firmness of their moral principles. The scientific and technical revolution has a substantial influence on people's moral ideas and on interpersonal relationships. The relevance of socialist humanism to all mankind is significantly enriched by the need to resolve the global problems of today. Increased demands are also made on the proponents of socialist morality by the increasingly acute ideological struggle and by imperialist propaganda's transition to "psychological warfare."

The practical utilization of morality in people's lives and the recognition of its essential role and its relative autonomy in relation to social life constitute an important aspect of ideological, mass political and educational work, whose main task, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted in the article "meeting the demands of developed socialism," is to set in motion the great creative forces inherent in the masses' consciousness and ideological commitment.

Socialist morality is above all a collectivist morality. That is its essence, its historically unique characteristic. Collectivism permeates all spheres of Soviet people's lives. It is a ramified system of values, each of which (in its own sphere) expresses the socialist moral quality of social behavior. In the family, in everyday life, and in interpersonal contact, it is active love for your neighbor, kindness, compassion, sharing, concern for children and the older generation, friendship. In the production sphere, it is concern for the good of the collective and society, a comradely attitude toward colleagues, helpfulness toward laggards, the ability to amend one's own behavior in the light of the state's interests. Collectivism is also revealed through ideological and political values: communist commitment, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, social discipline, and awareness of one's civic duty.

In the current period of ideological confrontation it would be naive to think that it is possible to define oneself morally without defining oneself ideologically and politically. This kind of "morality" often turns into importence and hollow moralizing. But on the other hand, we cannot accept the denial of the simple foundations of humanity or the transformation of the individual into merely a means of achieving remote goals. Only when they are merged in a single whole can morality and ideological and political principles act as the motive force to elevate both man and society.

Collectivism--the basic trend in the development of social mores under socialism--is revealed above all in a new attitude toward labor. We say that all labor ennoble man. And that is true. But however important persistence, thrift, skill, and other working qualities are in themselves, their social meaning and orientation are even more important. Whether a person is working only for the sake of his own "I," for the good of his dear ones, or with "strangers" in mind, whether he needs labor as a means to a career in the narrow sense, or in order to build a happy life together with others--these are the basic sociomoral characteristics of the attitude to labor. The combination of a high level of professional skill with moral maturity on the part of the working person is a very important feature of socialist civilization, distinguishing it from bourgeois civilization.

Under socialism, a person's position is determined by socially useful labor and its result. The conscientious worker, the production frontrunner, the creator of material and spiritual assets--it is he who personifies our social and moral values. A person's social recognition and material prosperity should be determined first and foremost by how he works. Here not only the economic aspect, but the ideological and moral aspect is of great importance. After all, in his work a person not only creates material values, but hammers out his own best capabilities, tempers his will, develops his creative forces, and asserts himself as a citizen and an active builder of communism.

Is an honorable, conscientious attitude to labor characteristic of all members of the new society? Unfortunately not. We still have shirkers, drifters, shoddy and slovenly workers, and other violators of discipline--people whose morality is the exact opposite of ours and whose qualities and actions are opposed to the principles and norms of socialist morality. In order to eliminate these negative phenomena, we need not only educational and propaganda efforts, but also measures of an economic, organizational and legal order.

The steps taken on the CPSU Central Committee's initiative in order to impose order, improve organization, and strengthen discipline in production and in all areas of our activity had a tangible positive effect in this respect. Great significance is also attached to the struggle which has been launched against those who squander society's wealth, take bribes, or engage in speculation. There is a very real link between these resolute measures which are being put into practice by party and state organs, and the improvement in production indicators in the economy. After all, when society is able to express graphically, not in words, but in deeds, its intolerance of unearned income, it thereby provides a social stimulus and moral incentive to conscientious labor.

We seek to bring all our life up to the level of socialism's supreme demands, and must therefore strive to ensure that the basic socialist principle--"from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"--is strictly applied. There is no doubt that remuneration and the distribution of social benefits according to labor is a just and moral thing. And if there are deviations from socialism's basic principle, they naturally trouble the conscience, injure the sense of justice, and give rise to public indignation.

The consistent implementation of socialism's basic principle also applies to its first part ("from each according to his abilities"). The conditions must be created for working people to be able to discover and apply their abilities. So the moral input in support of socialism's basic principle does not amount only to the struggle against overt or covert forms of social parasitism, the struggle for consistent implementation of the norm "to each according to his labor" (although the absolute necessity, relevance, and morally improving nature of this struggle are beyond doubt). It also involves the task of regulating sensible, morally justified demands, the emulation of the supreme norms of socialism, and the cultivation of a communist attitude to labor and social property. All this also forms part of the concept of socialist justice.

The collectivist morals of socialism differ from other historical forms of collectivism (blood relationships, contrived camaraderie, bourgeois society's substitutes for collectivity, and so forth) in that they really do have a humane purpose. Socialist collectivism is both the condition of the flourishing of the individual and the form in which it occurs. First, it offers the opportunity for regular contact, cooperation, and competition--the source of self-development. Second, the goals which are capable of spiritually elevating people always demand collective efforts. Third, the all-around development of the individual is possible only within the framework of free association among working people. Fourth, since we are concerned with the development of all people rather than separate individuals, this development is inconceivable without a society organized on collectivist lines.

Socialist collectivism and humanity are fused together: the collectivism of social reality creates the conditions and means for improving the individual; the development of people as individuals is the life-giving foundation of collectivism. It is the diversity of human individuality that is transformed into a wealth of collective relationships.

The course and specific content of historical events are determined by a multitude of objective and subjective causes and factors. But they all come together ultimately in human beings, who are their only effective embodiment. The human individual is definitely not a collection of external influences. He is an independent creator of social relationships. By this personal example, by the social impact of his actions, and by his behavior a person willy-nilly sets certain example of collective life and participates in the creation of social and moral values.

The saying goes: If you don't like it in others, don't do it yourself. Anyone who has a sense of responsibility for the moral health of society should first of all acquire moral purity himself and demonstrate his own social activeness. No social system, even socialism, can automatically make people decent and happy. It is the privilege of man himself. Therefore, one is bound to be alarmed about the attitudes of social parasitism which are apparent not only among certain young people.

Everyone has some responsibility for the moral climate in the collective and in our society. But it is the communists who have an increased responsibility. Their activity is the center of numerous social relationships. They have to be champions of social values, including moral values, and their qualities and shortcomings have an immediate social significance and impact. Finally, they are always in the public eye and bear special responsibility for the future of socialism.

It takes great skill to comprehend the real level of the individual's moral development. It requires a positive approach, although one that lacks complacency, and a critical analysis, although one that does not aim to discredit. And it has to be within an historical framework. Assessing our society's advances from this viewpoint, it can be said that the process of the formation of the communist type of individual cannot be considered complete, of course. At the same time, the Soviet person today represents the summit of individual development and he is at a much higher level than the bourgeois individual (not every individual person, but the individual as a social type). Thus, the new man is not only a remote ideal, but also a reality now.

Morality can be divided into at least two levels--consciousness and attitudes, which tend to differ and even become opposites in value terms. People, and society as well, are judged not by what they think of themselves, but by what they do. Moral values in this sense are above all attitudes, living relationships between individuals and the properties of their actions. Only then do they become facts of consciousness, value judgments. But the question is: why the split in a person's morality and what does it mean for his personal development?

The ancient philosophers pointed out the paradoxical nature of human moral behavior, noting that, as a rule, people recognize and approve the best, but sometimes choose the worst. This discrepancy between good intentions and bad behavior is the result of social and above all class alienation in an antagonistic society. When the actual mores are steeped in hostility and brutality and are based on the oppression of one group of people by another, the former



inevitably feels the need to be hypocritical. A dual morality emerges, which itself becomes a further source of moral deceit, a "school" of social hypocrisy. The gulf between word and deed, between theory and practice is the "most odious feature of the old bourgeois society" (V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, vol 41, p 302).

Socialism fundamentally transforms not only the content of morality (a transition from individualism to collectivism and the establishment of real humanism), but also its structure. The irksome split is replaced by an integral moral life: Morals are brought in line with mores and unity of word and deed becomes the essential form of social behavior.

The objective foundation of socialism--the correspondence between the economic basis and the superstructure and the common interests of friendly classes and social groups--demands unity of word and deed as a condition of the normal functioning of the social machinery. The Communist Party, the leading and guiding force of socialist society, is an example to other state and public organizations of how to embody working people's interests. A sober assessment of what has been done and a desire always to make the results of activity correspond to the intentions are an expression of society's moral health.

But, unfortunately, discrepancies between word and deed do occur in our society. I am referring above all to situations one encounters in economic, organizational, management and ideological work (failure to fulfill contract pledges, over-reporting, red tape, window dressing and so forth). Gaps like these in the living fabric of socialist relationships sow the seeds of distrust and complacency in people. And it takes an extraordinary effort to overcome mistakes and difficulties covered by a cloak of false-well-being. This inevitably results in the devaluation of working people's moral enthusiasm. Therefore, the boosting of publicity, criticism and self-criticism, and emphasis on deeds rather than words are having an exceedingly cleansing effect on our society's moral attitudes.

The people's moral health is a sign of society's vitality. Its strengthening is always important, but especially in periods of great accomplishments. The historic nature of the economic and social tasks facing the Soviet land compels us to pay greater attention to moral education, to be responsive to people's social needs and sentiments, and to strengthen and augment our priceless asset--socialist moral values.

CSO: 1800/164

NATIONAL

IMPORTANCE OF LETTERS TO EDITOR DISCUSSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by V. Kolesnikov: "The Readers' Viewpoint"]

[Text] "Dear editors! I didn't subscribe to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for 1985, although I have been a reader of your newspaper for many years. I used to be completely satisfied. Lately, in my opinion, the newspaper has become rather 'dull'. It seems to be more 'diluted'. I don't think the newspaper has gained from this. Respectfully, your former subscriber, L. A. Napol'skikh, Perm."

That's quite a letter, one of the few harshly written ones in our voluminous mail from readers. One could, of course, answer him in the regular way, file the letter and act as if it didn't matter--after all, you can't please everyone. But criticism like that is good, because it forces us to keep examining what we have done, to keep bringing our editorial compass into line with the readers' interests.

And we are fully aware that there is still much to be done.

"I don't think that we readers can do much to affect a newspaper's character. People keep writing the same things to the editors, but the newspapers are still different. And what could I do to help the professional?" These lines are from a letter from A. Ganzeyev, who lives in Opalikha near Moscow. In general the letter is a good one, but we cannot agree with what he says. Without your letters the newspaper would be impoverished and decline, it would be hopelessly divorced from life. In determining what kind of newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA should be in 1985, therefore, we are studying letters to the editor very carefully.

V. Matveyev of Leningrad advises: "You should write more about shortcomings, you should unmask thieves, bribe takers, bureaucrats, idlers, philistines, and apathetic people." The theme of combatting all kinds of negative phenomena in our life, of course, runs through many of the letters. And readers want such materials. But even more they want results. V. Yakovlev, of Kokhtla-Yarve in Estonia, writes: "You talk a lot about shortcomings, and you criticize, regardless of persons. That's very good. Unfortunately, however, you do not

always publish concrete responses to the criticism. Maybe it's not any of my business, but it hurts me to see those guilty of wrongdoing strutting around like heroes." But indeed it is your business, esteemed Viktor Vasil'yevich! It's all of our business. And your remarks deserve serious attention. S. Morozov, of Saratov, goes even further: "The newspaper publishes a critical article, followed by a response to the effect that such-and-such a person has been removed from his job. But you ought to check, a month or two later, into where that person was reassigned. It seems to me you should follow up on it more often, this time concerning those who responded." A. Vitebskiy, of Volgograd, continues this line of thought: "It wouldn't be a bad idea to check up on what happened to the author of the letter that prompted the correspondent's report. It's no secret that people aren't very fond of someone who blows the whistle. Maybe that person is going to need the editor's help after the article appears."

N. Kargol' of Tula shares these thoughts: "I am very pleased with the materials under the rubric 'Operation'. In our town we have been talking a lot about 'Operation Waiting List'. After all, it was launched in Tula. The results are already noticeable in our stores. 'Operation Housewarming,' however, does not apply to the residents of Tula." Indeed, what can we do to ensure that raids and critical articles yield results in other cities and villages besides those mentioned in the material?

Here are quotes from another letter concerning problems and critical materials. "I read each issue of your newspaper with pleasure," writes S. Stepanov from Sverdlovsk. "There are plenty of themes and even more problems. The quantity and variety of materials make a good impression (it's a very good thing that a newspaper tries to elucidate all difficult issues). But here's 'the rub'. Because of the abundance of articles, some things are neglected. Wouldn't it be better to deal with fewer themes, delve deeper, and resolve the problem thoroughly?" This is a very wise suggestion, in our opinion.

And again, concerning the quest for our own approach to themes. "I don't think SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ought to try to take the place of specialized publications on matters of culture," writes V. Polyakov from Kaluga. "I don't mean the subject matter in general, but rather scholarly articles about art written in a complicated and lengthy manner." This is probably the same shortcoming that A. Zyblev of Khabarovsk has in mind: "I keep finding words in the newspaper whose meaning is unknown to me. I wish you would define them somehow and publish them at certain intervals. In this way you would be compiling a kind of dictionary for your readers." Your humor, esteemed Comrade Zyblev, is much appreciated.

But the humor that appears in our newspaper, judging from our readers' letters, is not always highly appreciated. N. Prigoda writes from Kursk: "When 'Saturday Satire' appeared, our family was very pleased. And the fact that not all of the materials in that feature were of very high quality was taken as a sign of growing pains. Yet that growth has been painfully slow in coming. Could you water it a little better?"

In the coming year our country will be observing the 40th anniversary of Great Victory. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of our readers' letters

deal with this theme. A. Pankratov, a war veteran from Leningrad, raises a very important subject. "No One Is Forgotten, Nothing Is Forgotten"--but how is it in reality?" he asks, citing cases in which, because of someone's lethargy or, more likely, apathy, large and fine-looking obelisks that are erected fail to list all the names, without exception, of the fighting men who gave their lives. M. Kurganov, a reader in Teberda (Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast) urges the editors, when preparing for the celebrations, to report on how well veterans are being taken care of and to look into whether they are always getting the attention they deserve.

Many readers write about their desire to see more essays in the newspaper. S. Shmakova, of Irkutsk, muses: "You don't print many stories about good people. Do the editors think that the space is better devoted to business or critical articles? But even in an essay we can talk about problems and raise important issues. For example, a story about a man involved in environmental protection, an inspector involved in labor protection and safety engineering, workers, kolkhozniks, and so forth. I am in favor of problems-oriented essays."

S. Konyayev of Kirovsk, L. Bednova of Perm, and many others urge that we print more courtroom reports. S. Viktorov of Volgograd agrees with this idea, but with one qualification: "Coverage of a court case doesn't tell much. So they caught the criminal and punished him. Then what? Interpreting the event, getting down to the roots, showing the sources of the disease--that's the way to provide prevention."

A short digression is necessary here. In most letters (this is clear from the cited quotes) the reader not only suggests or asks that we report some phenomenon or event, or open a new rubric, he also argues on the basis of evidence, defends his point of view, tries to convince. He himself is thinking and he forces journalists to think. Collective thinking, the collective search for ways to direct reportage on experience, critical articles, the raising of issues--we see these as the guarantee of success.

"I love your newspaper," I. Nikolayeva writes from Sokol, Vologda Oblast. "It makes you think and compare. We have an interesting example. One of the officials at Sokolbumprom receives visitors in this way: as many people enter as there are chairs in the office (and there is always a long line), and he manages to resolve everyone's problems quickly and immediately. I propose that you launch a rubric 'Officials' Reception Day', and discuss how it ought to be. After all, each of us has to appeal to some organization at one time or another, and even officials have to go calling sometimes."

The leader and the collective. Many people are concerned about this theme. It is not surprising that several dozen of the proposals that come in suggest calling the rubric just that. V. Nionov, of Ryazan, suggests that such a rubric should "comment, utilizing a variety of genres, on the role of the leader in the labor collective, in creating a lively, healthy climate, on training the leader, enhancing his authority, and so on." L. Panov of Moscow Oblast suggests that we discuss questions of "enhancing the role of the social organizations and the collectives when making nominations for posts of leadership, also measures--both juridical and social--against persons who

exploit their positions for personal purposes." We might add that the leader's responsibility to the collective is a moral category which, it must be admitted, some leaders are ignorant of. Here again is a serious field of endeavor for the newspaper and for all of us.

Judging by our mail, the newspaper is woefully short of various materials of an informational nature. Referring to other publications, readers ask us to expand our range of consultations, advice, and directions. Suggestions as to the subject matter are quite various.

Readers are concerned about a very broad range of questions. They are interested in discussions about professional prestige, the work experience of the technical colleges, reportage on labor and rest camps for adolescents, problems concerning the production of children's footwear and special clothing, news from the union and autonomous republics, problems of rural consumer services and farm tools, the work of the medical institutions, and much, much else. There are as many suggestions as there are letters. Most of them are very interesting and important. But let's recall Sverdlovsk resident S. Stepanov's cautionary note: "Wouldn't it be better to deal with fewer themes, delve deeper, and resolve the problem thoroughly?" Having examined all the proposals, through joint efforts, we will select the most important and urgent ones. And we will endeavor to validate our choice in practice. Readers' opinions and responses will be valuable to the newspaper.

And regarding responses: dozens of letters came in requesting that we change the type and make it larger. Since early November we have printed insets in the new type, one which is easier to read, in our opinion. What do you think? So far we haven't received a single comment.

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CSO: 1830/227

REGIONAL

SHCHERBITSKIY ON REPUBLIC ECONOMIC, POLITICAL GOALS

AU062156 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary: "Hastening the Pace, Redoubling the Achievements"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Our people have begun the year 1985 full of energy. The intense labor rhythm in which the country lives is perceptible in everything. And this is natural. After all, the completion of the 11th 5-year period, the year which has begun--the year of immediate preparations for the 27th party congress--is a sort of a "bridge" to the 12th 5-year period.

/"While preparing for the congress,"/ Comrade K.U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, emphasized in his article "To the level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism," /"the party finds it necessary to thoroughly comprehend the path covered, to elevate the present state of affairs in an accurate scientific way, to make each Communist, each Soviet man aware of the novelty and complexity of the tasks stemming from it, and to rouse among them the need for their creative accomplishment."/ This is why each basic party organization and each labor collective must already now determine the main guidelines for its work, and the main points at which its force is to be exerted.

/While relying on the strong economic foundations and on the increasingly significant results of the Soviet people's work, our party is accomplishing the main task of steadily raising the material and spiritual living standards of the people./ The results of the work performed by the national economy in 1984 and the planned targets and socialist pledges assumed by the republic's working people for 1985 have been published in the press. The targets set are intense, but feasible. Their accomplishment will depend on our efficiency, vigor, and initiative in fulfilling this plan.

The work of the /basic branches of industry/ and, of course, /machine building/ must continue to be in the center of our attention in virtue of their enormous importance for accelerating scientific-technical progress and developing all spheres of the economy.

At the same time, we must specify the key tasks confronting us at the present stage.

/Point one/ is to significantly increase the output of grain and its sales to the state. After all, grain is accountable for half of our food stock, including stockbreeding produce. Nonetheless, in recent years some farms have slackened the pace of increasing overall grain yields. As a rule, the explanation is one and the same: The weather is to blame. But at the same time, many kolkhozes and sovkhozes under the same conditions are steadily obtaining high yields, including in the most arid oblasts. At the Bilshovt-skyi Nastup sovkhoz, in Kherson Oblast, for example, the per-hectare yields of grain averaged in recent 4 years 33.6 quintals, and at the M.A. Posmitnyy kolkhoz, in Odessa Oblast, 32.5 quintals. Similar examples can be quoted for Zaporozhye, Nikolayev, the Crimean, and other oblasts.

What is the matter? Some people are alluding to unfavorable--almost extreme--conditions, while the others are obtaining high and stable yields with the same weather. Apparently, our agronomic services, science, and many leaders and specialists in central and local agricultural organs, at kolkhozes and sovkhozes have still not adjusted themselves to the most effective use under any conditions of the material-technical base, which has expanded significantly, in order to raise the productivity and stability of the entire agriculture, and above all, of grain production. This must be remedied.

/Point two/, party, administrative, and economic organs must, in their activity, pay more attention to questions concerning the further development of the republic's fuel and energy basis. In the final year of the current 5-year period, the share of nuclear power stations in the production of electric energy has to be brought to 20 percent compared with the 15.8 percent in the preceding 5-year period, and this will make it possible to free 17 million tons of conventional fuel for the needs of the national economy. For the same purpose we must also make fuller use of generating facilities at thermal power stations, and must use less fuel in the production of electric energy. The utmost is to be done not only to fulfill, but also to exceed the plan for coal, gas, and petroleum extraction.

The paramount task confronting party committees, ministries, and departments is to ensure that the 1985 plans are fulfilled for applying energy-saving equipment and technologies, and for tightening discipline in fuel and energy consumption. In the field--and particularly now, in the winter season--each enterprise should strictly and daily see to it that the norms and ceilings set for the use of coal, gas, petroleum products, heat and electric energy are observed.

It is as important as before to improve the work of /ferrous metallurgy,/ in particular, to develop the iron ore mining basis, to increase the production of coke and the most economical kinds of rolled stock, as well as to cope with contracted obligations for the supply of production.

/Point three,/ we must see to it that production capacities are put into operation on time. The 1985 plan calls for the construction of new facilities to significantly increase the production of electric energy, coal, iron ore,



coke, mineral fertilizers, agricultural equipment, knit underwear, footwear, and suvare about to be commissioned are: Block No. 2 at the Zaporozhye atomic power station, the South Donbass mine No. 3, four coking batteries in Dnepropetrovsk and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts, a nitro-ammophoska complex in Rozdol, a knitwear factory in Komsomolsk, Poltava Oblast, a sugar refinery in Khmel'nitskiy Oblast, and a number of others.

Contracting organizations, oblispolkoms, and party committees have the task, from the very beginning of the year, to take energetic steps to concentrate forces and material resources on the projects which are about to be commissioned, above all, on those of great national economic importance. It is also essential to fulfill well and on time the plans for the construction of houses, general education and vocational schools, children's and medical establishments, trade and consumer service enterprises.

/Point four,/ in 1985, it is highly important to increase and radically improve the quality and choice of manufactured consumer goods. For this purpose it is essential to make better use of the existing production potential and of all our economic possibilities. All production collectives without exception must be engaged in the accomplishment of this task. The soviets of people's deputies, trade union, and Komsomol organizations are called upon to assume a more active position on this matter.

To accomplish the aforesaid and other important tasks, it is essential to continue to /accelerate scientific-technological progress/ because, as V.I. Lenin indicated, socialism is unthinkable without technology based on the newest scientific achievements. There is no other way to increase production effectiveness. The further integration of science with production and the wide application of the most up-to-date technologies are the only means to significantly reduce material consumption in production, to raise labor productivity, to lower costs, and to improve the quality of production.

The work performed to accelerate scientific-technological progress and to increase its impact on the final results of production have been constantly in the center of attention in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and party committees. This is precisely the objective of the comprehensive special-purpose scientific-technological programs which are being implemented in the republic, and of the activity of the councils for promoting scientific-technological progress under obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms.

This work produces positive results wherever it is being carried out systematically and persistently. For example, the council for promoting scientific-technological progress, existing for a number of years under the /Kiev Gorkom,/ has helped conclude more than 2,500 agreements on creative cooperation between enterprises and scientific institutions in the city. The combined and coordinated activity of scientists, economic leaders, and production innovators helps successfully implement comprehensive special-purposes programs and overcome interdepartmental barriers. Thus, for example, with the assistance of the scientists of the General and Inorganic Chemistry Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Paris Commune plant has adopted a facility that enabled the enterprise to prolong five times the useful life of metal.

Scientists from other institutions have helped the Lipse plant bring the level of mechanization and automation in its production to 87 percent, have enabled the Kommunist plant to save more than R1.5 million annually, and so forth.

Nonetheless, the pace of applying scientific-technological achievements is unsatisfactory even in Kiev with its 18 higher educational establishments and nearly 300 scientific research, planning, designing, and technological institutes. The main hindrances are: narrowness and inertness in thinking, and an orientation toward what was valid yesterday. Leaders also still rely insufficiently on rationalizers, inventors, and jacks-of-all-trades.

Harmful to the matter is also another extreme: association with science only out of "considerations of prestige." Thus, some enterprise and institute leaders, must to keep up with the others, have managed to provide themselves with their "own" electronic computing complexes which are in operation only a few hours daily. Also, the application of robot equipment has not always been well considered.

The /economy of resources/ ranks now among the main factors of accelerating scientific-technological progress. This is why, under present conditions, organizational, economic, and educational work should be aimed to a large extent at the settlement of this important task. We should widely and everywhere apply the experience accumulated in this respect by party organizations in /Dnepropetrovsk Oblast/ in improving production quality and in the effective use of resources; in /Donetsk Oblast/--in applying advanced production practices; in /Zaporozhye Oblast/--in reducing manual labor; in /Lvov Oblast/--in improving production quality; and in /Kharkov Oblast/--in increasing production volumes without raising labor or material resource expenditures.

In line with the socialist pledges adopted, in the current year we are expected--through a rational management of the economy, the application of resource-saving technologies, and a better use of secondary raw materials--to save materials, fuel, and electric energy worth R520 million in excess of the target, and to work 2 days on saved resources. Each basic party organization should have a clear-cut plan for practical action to accomplish this task.

It is no secret that all our plans and pledges, in the last analysis, depend on the reform of consciousness, on scrapping the implanted opinions and stereotypes in people's thinking. Precisely this is an immense field of action for party organizations for whom attending to the economy implies, first of all, attending to people who run the economy, because the party settles economic problems by political means./

/Cadre Policy/ is the main and most effective tool used by the party to accomplish current tasks. In the work among cadres, a clear-cut and well considered system is as important as nowhere else. Neither frequent reshuffles nor ossification of any sort in the composition of cadres is permissible.

In the multifarious and--let me say straight--painstaking and minute work involving the education of cadres there are no trivialities. What matters most

is to carry it out systematically, openly, observing the principles of collectivism, to promote by all means democratic principles, and to lend an ear to the opinions of basic party organizations and of the public.

No matter what problems are attended to by party organizations, everything in one way or another involves /education, ideological work./ The tighter this work is linked with the struggle for accomplishing national economic and sociopolitical tasks, the better results it produces.

In this respect, there are appreciable changes for the better. Propagandists are now frequently helping their audiences work out socialist pledges; speakers and lecturers are making better use of the local facts; and agitators are more purposeful in writing their talks. But are we able to say that the Leninist principle of unity in ideological, organizational, and economic work is being observed everywhere in a consistent and creative manner? Does the word always hit the target? Unfortunately, not always and not everywhere. This is why we must constantly improve this work, aspiring to ensure that it produces due returns everywhere.

Life shows that any omissions, defects, and blunders have their roots in the wrong style of leadership. /The growing leading role of the CPSU at the present stage implies increased responsibility of local party bodies for the pursuit of its policy./ The 26th CPSU Congress and the successive plenums of the CPSU Central Committee have clearly defined the ways to improve the style of leadership. And favorable changes are becoming increasingly appreciable. Session fits are subsiding, decisions on the same question are being adopted ever more seldom, control has become stricter, and the ties of party committees with life and with all working people have tightened.

The example of Dnepropetrovsk combine builders shows how fruitful are such ties. While implementing party directives concerning production intensification, they have verified workplaces, aspiring to rationalize them in a scientifically substantiated way. The CPSU Central Committee has approved the work experience of this collective. Brought about by the congress decisions, the initiative ascends from the grass roots to the top and, comprehended and enriched, descends again to be disseminated at the grass roots. A creative streak is becoming increasingly evident in the activity of many raykoms and gorkoms: Having renounced petty tutelage over economic bodies, they are energetically working in the decisive sectors of economic, scientific, and cultural development, and are paying particular attention to lagging sectors.

Nonetheless and unfortunately, formalism is still alive. Responsibility for the lack of organization and poor executive discipline is not becoming stricter everywhere, and the accomplishment of imminent tasks frequently sticks in the quagmire of countless acts of coordination. Of course, this is intolerable. Each production collective and each laborer in his sector is called upon to strengthen with his highly productive labor the economic and defense potential of the homeland.

While successfully settling great and complex problems, the Soviet people are consistent and persistent in building their present and future. The party defines this multistage work as perfecting the socialism built in our country.

In the practical performance of this work, /the Communists should, as ever, set an example./ Their duty is, above all, to advance, not to stop at what has been achieved, always to bear in mind responsibility for the destinies of our plans, to be bolder in revealing and eradicating shortcomings, to constantly aspire to improve the matters at hand, and, no matter how difficult the path, to be steady in the pursuit of the goal.

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REGIONAL

GAPUROV AT JOINT PLENUM OF TURKMEN ARTISTIC ORGANIZATIONS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 13 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] The participants of a joint plenum of the creative unions and organizations of the TuSSR, which took place on 12 December in Ashkhabad, discussed the tasks of the creative unions and organizations, institutions of culture and art of the republic in light of the speech of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade K. U. Chernenko, at the anniversary plenum of the board of management of the USSR Union of Writers "To Affirm the Truth of Life, the High Ideals of Socialism", in light of the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and the 100th Anniversary of the Voluntary Entry of Turkmenistan Into the Composition of Russia".

The Plenum was opened by T. Esenova, People's Writer of the TuSSR.

With great enthusiasm, the participants of the plenum elect an honorary presidium composed of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee with K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the head.

M. G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, gave a great speech at the plenum. The joint plenum of the creative unions and organizations, comrade Gapurov said, is being held at the time when all Soviet people, including the workers of Soviet Turkmenistan, inspired by the speech of comrade K. U. Chernenko at the regular session of the Politburo of the CPSU and the materials of the 2nd Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation, are successfully working to fulfill the plans of the fourth year and the 11th Five-Year-Plan as a whole and are concentrating their efforts on the increase of production efficiency, the improvement of the quality of work, the improvement of the management of the economy, and the strengthening of order and discipline in every sector.

Our party and the CPSU Central Committee are proceeding from the fact that, in the conditions of the developed socialist society, literature and art acquire increasingly great significance in the spiritual life of the Soviet people and in the education of the workers in the spirit of the ideals of communism and

love for the socialist Homeland. The creative workers of Soviet Turkmenistan are making an important contribution to the solution of this noble task. Important tasks have been placed before the workers in literature and art, and the workers in culture, in the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan "On the 60th Anniversary of the TuSSR, the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and the 100th Anniversary of the Voluntary Entry of Turkmenistan into the Composition of Russia".

Today the workers of the republic realize with pride how much they have done under the guidance of the Leninist party, with the fraternal assistance of the peoples of the USSR and, above all, the great Russian people. And, of course, great is the contribution to the national cause which is made by our creative intelligentsia.

Having characterized the basic achievements of the culture of Soviet Turkmenistan for 60 years, comrade Gapurov noted that features of high citizenship, party spirit and nationality are characteristic of the best works of the writers, artists, composers, cinematographers, theatrical art workers, journalists and architects.

Today all creative unions and organizations and all workers of culture and art, comrade Gapurov said further, are called upon to increase their contribution to the perfection of developed socialism, to increase their influence on the social consciousness, the spiritual life, and the formation of the ideological and moral make-up of the people.

The speech characterized the tasks confronting the creative intelligentsia in connection with the approaching celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War and emphasized that education by history is one of the important instruments of the education of citizenship, Soviet patriotism, and socialist internationalism. It was noted that one of the main directions of literature and art during the contemporary stage is the further increase of the militancy of atheist education.

The honorable duty of the people involved in creative work is to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist way of life, to repulse the intrigues of bourgeois propaganda, to educate the Soviet people in the spirit of class vigilance, and to conduct offensive, vivid counterpropaganda. The role of journalism was emphasized and the tasks of the creative unions were defined which emanate from the decisions of the October (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that examined the question of the Permanent Program of Land Improvement.

In thoroughly analyzing the activity of the creative unions of Turkmenistan, comrade Gapurov noted their great contribution to the common spiritual deposit of the republic and the country and to the practice of communist construction.

At the same time, the speech addressed in severe terms the shortcomings of work and the problems of creative life that demand daily attention. It underscored the necessity of taking an insistent stand against dullness and the lack

of individual distinctive qualities in literature and art. In the speech the idea stood out that there cannot be any indulgences with respect to manifestations of the lack of principles and ideals or ideological unscrupulousness. The speaker recalled the great responsibility of the party organizations, communists and those working in the creative unions, who are called upon to exert an active influence on the ideological direction of creativity. Greater attention must be given to the education of creative young people.

Then discussions developed. Urgent and important tasks confronting the creative intelligentsia and problems of the spiritual life of our society were discussed at the plenum by the deputy chairman of the board of directors of the TuSSR Union of Writers, K. Kurbandsakhatov, the TuSSR minister of culture, A. Mamiliyev, the chairman of the board of directors of the TuSSR Union of Journalists, A. Mamedov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Turkmenistan, Zh. k.-B. Charyyeva, the people's artist of the TuSSR, Professor A. Khadzhiyev, the carpet-maker and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, A. Kurbanova, the officer of the Ashkhabad Garrison, V. V. Smerlov, the chairman of the board of directors of the TuSSR Union of Composers, A. Kuliyeu, the honored artist of the TuSSR and secretary of the party organization of the State Russian Drama Theater imeni A. S. Pushkin, L. P. Kazakova, the chairman of the board of directors of the TuSSR Union of Architects, V. A. Atayev, the honored art worker of the TuSSR and the USSR State Prize laureate, first secretary of the board of directors of the TuSSR Union of Cinematographers, Kh. Narliyeu, and others.

The participants of the plenum received with great enthusiasm a letter of greeting addressed to the CPSU Central Committee, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade K. U. Chernenko.

The following took part in the work of the plenum: The members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, A. S. Boyko, Ch. S. Karryyev, N. V. Makarkin, M. Mollayeva, A. I. Rachkov, M. G. Shmidt, B. Yazkuliyeu, and the candidate member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, V. A. Khar'kov.

(State Information Agency Attached to  
the TuSSR Council of Ministers)

8970

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REGIONAL

GAPUROV ON LIFE IN TURKMEN SSR SINCE THE REVOLUTION

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 12 Dec 84 pp 1-2

[Article by M. G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan: "Affirming the Soviet Way of Life"]

[Excerpts] This year the workers of Turkmenia triumphantly mark the 60th anniversary of the formation of their republic and the Communist Party of Turkmenistan. The enormous changes that have transformed the in former times backward national borderlands have become excellent testimony of the triumph of the Leninist national policy.

In the example of the Turkmen SSR, which during the years of Soviet power has completed a gigantic leap in its development, the characteristic features of the affirmation of a new, socialist way of life are clearly visible.

The socialist system of economy has become the economic basis of this way of life. Developing dynamically as an integral part of the common national economic complex of the country, the republic has attained great progress in all spheres of public production.

The industry of Turkmenistan now produces 230 times more output than before the October Revolution. The industries which determine scientific-technical progress and which satisfy the constantly growing demands of the population are developing especially intensively. If during the prerevolutionary period only 2,5 million kilowatt hours of electric power were produced in the territory, the present figure is 9.3 billion kilowatt hours. Electric power plants have been built in Bezmein, Nebit-Dag, and Chardzhou. The installation of the first phase of the Maryyskaya GRES (State Regional Electric Power Plant) imeni 50-letiya SSSR has been completed.

The gas industry is the pride of Turkmenistan. The development of the Shatlykский, Naipskiy, Gugurtlinskiy, Beurdesinskiy and other gas deposits has moved the republic among the large suppliers of natural gas in the country.

The economic conditions of life of the rural population has fundamentally changed. The realization of the Leninist agricultural policy of the party provided the possibility of successfully solving the tasks of the development and

intensification of agriculture. The production of raw cotton increased by a factor of 34, compared to the year 1924 when the Turkmen SSR was formed. Beginning in 1973, its procurements annually exceed 1 million tons.

A large program of irrigation work is being carried out, in which the Karakum Canal imeni V. I. Lenin is of decisive significance--a gigantic hydro-installation which is unprecedented in the world. The track of this man-made river, which cut through 1,100 kilometers of sandy desert, made it possible to return hundreds of thousands of hectares of land to production, which had been lying fallow for centuries. The ancient dream of the Turkmen people about the "large water" was realized. Now the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the irrigation zone of the Karakum Canal obtain more than 40 percent of the agricultural production that is produced in the republic. The Karakum Canal was built shoulder to shoulder by representatives of 36 nationalities. More than 250 cities of the country supplied equipment, mechanisms and building materials to the construction project.

Today the fruits of the Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU, of the steadfast strengthening of the fraternal friendship of all nations of our multinational Homeland, are visibly being observed. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party firmly and consistently directs its efforts toward the increase of the material and spiritual potential of every republic and at the same time its maximum utilization for the harmonious development of the entire country. The close cooperation of all nations of the country and, above all, the unselfish assistance of the great Russian people, played the most important role in the development of the former national borderlands.

As the result of the industrialization and socialist collectivization, and the intensive development of the economy, the social structure of the population of the Turkmen SSR has changed. If in 1925 the main mass of the population of the republic (more than 81 percent) was composed of individual peasants and little more than 7 percent workers, now workers account for 44.2 percent of the total population and the collective peasantry constitutes 33.4 percent. A numerous national intelligentsia has developed--the majority of which are representatives of the native nationality. In the course of socialist construction, all necessary socio-economic and political conditions were created in the republic as the result of which the Turkmen socialist nation was formed.

Our society is a society of people of labor. In Turkmenistan, as in the other republics, a great deal is being done for the involvement of the entire able-bodied population in public production and for the creation of the necessary conditions for labor to become more productive and significant, interesting and creative. The conditions and content of the labor of many categories of workers are changing. In industry, for example, during the past 10 years alone the number of comprehensively mechanized and automated enterprises, sections, plants and industries has more than doubled. The process of mechanization of agriculture is proceeding at accelerated rates. Here 47,000 tractors, 10,000 cotton pickers, 1,000 grain combines, 12,000 trucks and a great deal of other equipment are at work. More than 60,000 machine operators are working in the fields and farms of the republic--this profession has become one of the basic ones in agricultural production.

The new attitude toward labor and its creative character in our society are most clearly manifested in socialist competition, the activity of inventors and innovators, and in the thrifty and zealous attitude toward public property. The majority of the workers of the republic--about 90 percent of all workers--are taking part in socialist competition. Approximately 500,000 people and hundreds of brigades and sections are fighting for the title of outstanding workers and collectives of communist labor. In the development and improvement of the way of life of the Soviet people, which is based on the principle of collectivism, the paramount role belongs to the labor production collectives. This basic cell of socialist society brings together the representatives of different social strata, generations, many nations and nationalities, and in the process of joint labor forms in them feelings of solidarity and mutual assistance, responsibility for the common cause, and mutual respect for people of different nationalities.

The improvement of the socialist way of life is based on the strong foundation of the constant of the welfare of the workers and the increasingly full satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs. Both in the city and in the village, people eat and dress better every year, their living quarters are becoming more comfortable, their way of life is becoming enriched by more and more amenities and their leisure--more interesting and diverse.

There has been a significant increase in the material well-being of the population. The wages of the workers and office employees and the incomes of the kolkhoz farmers are increasing. Every family receives about 500 rubles a year from public consumption funds. During the three years of the current five-year-plan alone, the real income per capita increased by more than 12 percent.

Housing construction in the cities and in the rural localities is being carried out on a large scale. During the three years of the current five-year-plan alone, more than 250,000 people improved their housing conditions, and during the 11th Five-Year-Plan a total of more than 5.3 million square meters of living space will be built. Spacious houses with all the communal conveniences and with personal plots have come to replace the clay-walled cottages in the old auls. Gas, electricity, water-lines, and central heating have firmly entered the way of life of the rural toilers.

The republic has a developed network of medical and medical-dispensary institutions. More than 9,000 physicians and 26,000 medium-level medical workers safeguard the health of the people. There are 30 physicians for every 10,000 inhabitants. The workers recuperate and improve their health in sanatoria, dispensaries and holiday homes.

Turkmenistan is a republic of complete literacy. 1.2 million people are studying in 1,936 general education schools, 92 professional-technical schools, 35 institutions of secondary specialized education, and 9 VUZ's. More than 200,000 specialists with higher or secondary specialize education are working in the national economy. Compared to 1940, their number has increased by a factor of almost 15.

Prior to the October Revolution, neither books nor journals were published in the Turkmen language. Now approximately 6 million copies of books are published annually and 35 journals and other periodical publications, and 70 newspapers are published. There are 7 theaters in the republic, 3 philharmonic societies, the film studio "Turkmenfil'm", 1,370 movie theaters and installations, 1,435 libraries for the general public, with holdings of about 15 million copies of books and journals.

The most important historic regularity of socialist society is the consistent development of democracy and the increase of the socio-political activeness of the citizens. This is clearly manifested in the activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political basis of the USSR. About 24,000 representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, are elected to 407 local Soviets of People's Deputies of the republic. Active work is being done by the deputies directly in their election districts, in the enterprises and organizations where they work. In the republic, 1,070 territorial and production deputy groups are operating, more than 3,100 permanent commissions of Soviets, which include about 80 percent of all the deputies, and more than 11,000 activists. And a total of more than 200,000 workers are active assistants of the Soviets.

The public and political activeness of the masses is manifested in the activity of the people's control organs. 12,500 groups and posts of patrollers combine almost 100,000 people. Practically every tenth worker of the republic is a people's controller. This activity cultivates an active life position, a concern for the interests of the state--integral features of the socialist way of life. "Our democracy," said comrade K. U. Chernenko at the All-Russian Conference of People's Controllers, "gives everyone the right and charges everyone with the obligation to show himself actively as the master of the country. . . participation in control teaches well both to make use of this right and to acknowledge this obligation."

The liberation of the woman of the East, whose position in the past was most humiliating and without any rights, has become an outstanding socio-political achievement. Today the women of Turkmenistan are full and equal members of socialist society and active builders of the new life. More than 100,000 women with higher and secondary specialized education are working in the spheres of the economy, science and culture of the republic. Two-fifth of all scientific workers are women; among them are more than 500 doctors and candidates of science. 117 women have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the republic, they compose half of the deputies of the local Soviets, a third of the party and soviet workers, including one-fifth--members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and one-third--secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms of the party.

Mothers and children are surrounded with special attention and concern. More than 115,600 mothers of many children receive monthly assistance. During the years of the 10th Five-Year-Plan alone, large families and single mothers were paid assistance in the amount of 83 million rubles.

Many labor collectives, in which women constitute the absolute majority, are at the head of socialist competition.

Taking note of the positive, we cannot but perceive weak spots in the ideological work among women. Unfortunately, by far not all of them are involved in active labor and public activity. There are also those who are held captive by religious prejudices and obsolete dispositions. We will have to develop and realize a number of measures with respect to the accelerated construction of socio-cultural, everyday life, and preschool institutions, and above all in the village. Branches of enterprises and new industries, calculated to use primarily the labor of women, will be created in the republic.

The fundamental transformations of the material life of society and the all-round development of socialist democracy have called forth the deep improvements in the national psychology and in all aspects of the way of life of the people. The affirmation of the socialist, internationalist principles and bases in all spheres of public life and in everyday life has become the result of these changes.

The formation and development of the Soviet way of life is taking place under the beneficial influence of the purposeful activity of the party, which is tirelessly concerned with the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world view and ideological conviction in the consciousness of people. In carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic party organization raised the level of ideological work and has begun to coordinate it more closely with life, with practical communist construction. There has been an increase in the attention given to the quality of party studies and to economic education.

Oral political agitation is an effective means of influence on people and on the formation of their way of thinking. Daily educational work in the labor collectives and at the place of residence is being conducted by 52,000 agitators and political information workers, and about 2,300 political lecturers of the party committees.

United Political Days have become effective forms of ideological work, which actively affirm the socialist way of life, as have Days of the Open Letter, meetings of the agitation and propaganda groups of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the party, with the labor collectives and inhabitants of towns and villages. In the course of their conduct, the workers receive exhaustive information on the political and economic life of the republic, about unsolved problems, about tasks for the period ahead, and express their opinions and suggestions.

During the past few years, the party organizations have become more active in atheistic work. Rural meetings, workers' meetings, oral journals for women, girls' clubs, and united political days are being used in the struggle with religious vestiges. Frequently materials of a counterpropaganda character appear in the local press, on the radio and television. However, this is no reason to be complacent. Life itself obligates us to intensify atheistic propaganda in the labor and study collectives and in the place of residence of the population, utilizing in so doing different forms of individual and mass work. We perceive the necessity of the more active introduction of socialist holidays and ceremonies in life.

In the affirmation of the new aspects of the way of life, Soviet ceremonies and traditions, a special place belongs to the councils of elders, who in the conditions of our republic actively influence the formation of public opinion. They have been created in all kolkhozes, sovkhozes and in many enterprises. about 500 councils of elders, which include the most authoritative and respected people, are conducting many-sided educational work, including participation in the organization of new rituals, holidays, thematic evenings, meetings with veterans of labor and war, celebrations honoring outstanding production workers, hero mothers, etc. Speaking out against everything obsolescent that conflicts with the norms of socialist society, the councils of elders at the same time strive to preserve the best national traditions connected with the cultivation of love for the work of the farmer, respect for the earth and water, bread, and home.

The affirmation of the socialist way of life in Soviet Turkmenistan is one of the greatest achievements of Leninist nationality policy, the most important result of the socio-economic, political and spiritual development of the republic, the merit of all the peoples of our multinational Homeland. The enrichment of the Soviet way of life in every conceivable way and the strengthening of its progressive features is one of the main directions in the efforts of the party organization and all workers of the republic, who are meeting the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR and the Communist Party of Turkmenistan with new successes in economic and cultural construction.

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REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN LOCAL INDUSTRY MINISTER ON ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 10, Oct 84 (signed to press 20 Sep 84) pp 33-40

[Article by Lithuanian SSR Minister of Local Industry Grigoriy Kalinovich Simenenko: "The First Steps of an Experiment"]

[Text] A major economic experiment began at the start of this year in a group of industrial sectors. Conducted by decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and directed at expanding the rights of enterprises in planning and economic activity as well as at raising their responsibility for work results, it is called upon to improve the main and fundamental aspects of the economic and social life of labor collectives. As was noted at the December (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the party attaches important significance to this initiative. Associations and enterprises of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Local Industry are among the participants of this experiment. Lithuanian SSR Minister of Local Industry Grigoriy Kalinovich Simenenko tells us what form its first steps are taking.

Before dwelling on the essence of the experiment and its first steps, it would probably make sense to explain why precisely our ministry was selected for work in this new way from among all of the republic's ministries. There was an objective reason for this. Among the sectors participating in the experiment, local industry in general and that of Lithuania in particular occupies a special place. First of all because of its multisector nature. It manufactures more than 4,000 kinds of articles--from furniture and household appliances to various dishware (including bone china), household utensils, orchard and garden tools, toys, souvenirs and ornaments. All for a total of about 270 million rubles per year.

Despite such an abundance of "sectors" within the sector, the republic's local industry is operating stably, and it is staffed by highly qualified personnel. It is successfully completing its basic tasks of the five-year plan. In 3 years production volume increased by 14 percent, while labor productivity grew by 10.5 percent. The volume of products manufactured out of local raw materials and industrial wastes increased by almost a third.



If we add to this that the successes attained by subordinated organizations in fulfilling the plans and socialist pledges have earned the ministry the Perpetual Red Banner of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Local Industry and Communal-Personal Enterprise Workers 4 years in a row, we can get an impression of the entire picture. The hard labor of hundreds of Lithuanian people's craftsmen, workers, artists, designers and engineers is the principal ingredient of this picture. And there is also the great amount of work done to commission new enterprises and reconstruct existing ones, to reequip them, and to eliminate small shops and sections housed in makeshift buildings--that is, to create a material base satisfying the modern requirements of science and technology, without which no experiment would be possible. Thus just in the 10th Five-Year Plan 34 million rubles of capital investments were allocated to these purposes, which naturally produced tangible results. The assortment of arts and crafts and souvenirs gained especially: It became richer and more diverse.

New progressive production processes and specialization helped to resurrect many national crafts and to promote production of unique limited-edition articles of a high artistic level. Their subject matter has become more diverse. Moreover changes for the better occurred in the ministry as a whole as well. Manufacture of products bearing the State Seal of Quality increased, and renewal of the goods assortment was significantly accelerated. Assortment renewal now averages 34.8 percent per year.

But following reconstruction of our economy, we also discovered a mass of problems requiring attention and quick solution. As before, we continue to have many small enterprises in which the technical level of production is relatively low. Sometimes we march in place, we fail to display efficiency, and we do not keep up with what the market is doing. Moreover it often takes too much time to introduce even simple consumer goods into industrial production. All of this unfavorably affects satisfaction of the population's demand for good quality articles. The tasks of expanding the assortment of new articles that would ease the labor of housewives, and of producing highly productive small mechanized tools for gardeners continue to be pressing in the republic, and renewal of the assortment and improvement of the quality of goods for children require attention.

This is why the experiment is to us an extremely important phase of production improvement. The collectives of the enterprises and business organs are laying great hopes upon it, believing that now both the shortcomings named above and others typical of local industry will be eliminated, and that we will be able to create an improved model of economic relations--ones in which all will be identically interested, beginning with the laborer and ending with the association director. This is why the instruction to perform this experiment at the ministry's enterprises is assessed in our labor collectives as a sign of great trust from the party and government.

What is the essence of the experiment?

In accordance with its conditions, fulfillment of the plans for product sales volume (with regard for contracted delivery obligations) and profit is

becoming the principal indicator for evaluating the work of the enterprises. No more is there a need for setting a large number of indicators "from above." Under the new conditions the wage fund is made directly dependent on the production volume, while the material incentive fund is directly dependent on profit and on fulfillment of contracted obligations. This approach is doubtlessly developing an aspiration to improve all other indicators "from below." There is good reason for playing along with the experiment. If these conditions are fully satisfied, the material incentive fund will increase by 15 percent, and for each percentage point that the enterprises fall short, the fund will be reduced by 3 percent.

Long-range standards for the wage, material incentive and other funds are now being approved for the associations and enterprises--for the entire five-year plan. And the increment in these funds has been made fully dependent upon the rate of growth of commodity production and profit. Moreover the enterprises are granted the right to set their own standards for extra pay to highly qualified workers, white collar workers, engineers and technicians, for extra pay for cross training and for bonuses for economizing on raw material resources.

This system of material incentive has become an effective force promoting development of production with the least number of workers. Our administrators are making use of this force. After all, it promises many advantages. In former times an executive pondered as to how to make full use of the wage fund, so that next year the enterprise could get more. But in the experiment the amount that is saved from this fund remains with the enterprise, and it can be used to materially reward the workers. Therefore in the ministry as a whole, extra pay has already been established for a significant number of engineers, technicians and white collar workers due to wage fund savings. This extra pay varies from 12 to 15 percent of the worker's salary. Extra pay is being provided to 19.8 percent of the sector's workers for occupational proficiency and to 25.3 percent for cross training, and about 15 percent of the workers employed in specially important areas received a pay raise of up to 230 rubles per month.

Such, briefly, are some of the provisions of the experiment, though of course it does encompass a significantly wider range of issues. I would like to discuss one of these issues in greater detail--that of changing the way in which the enterprises obtain their production resources. The associations and enterprises are granted total independence. If they lack their own resources for modernizing and reequipping production, they are entitled to take out loans for a period of up to 6 years. Moreover the Lithuanian republic office of the USSR Gosbank may provide loans above the limit of state centralized capital investments in order to fund measures for producing new products and raising their quality and for expanding production of consumer goods. Such loans can be up to 1 million rubles with a payment period of up to 6 years. This is a great boost to our sector and to modernization of its enterprises. In former times such loans were issued only by the USSR Gosbank for a period of up to 3 years.

In a word, the experiment foresees creation of optimum conditions for achieving high end results. Herein lies the experiment's main essence--insuring unity between the rights and responsibilities of labor collectives. This is why we at the ministry made preparations for this experiment beforehand, and

why we created a special commission to which we assigned the organizational and educational work associated with the economic experiment. And it was able to complete its tasks.

We devote a great deal of attention in meetings of the ministry's governing board, in production conferences and in collective meetings to clarifying the essence of the experiment and its various sides. We emphasize in this case that the material advantages foreseen by the new conditions will not come about spontaneously, that they depend upon the personal contribution of each laborer and white collar worker to the overall results.

Considering that the success of the experiment depends on the grass-roots collectives, energetic steps were taken primarily in the brigades and at the work station to develop and improve the effectiveness of the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation. Today there are over 10,000 persons in the sector's brigades working on the basis of a single order and utilizing the labor participation coefficient. This is a significant proportion of the total employees. Brigades are being converted to khozraschet in accordance with sector recommendations. One hundred forty-three such collectives have already been organized.

Special attention was turned during the preparations to indoctrinating the personnel in the spirit of high personal responsibility and to strengthening labor, planning and contract discipline, which is so necessary to success under the new conditions. Both executives and workers keenly sense that their previous education is no longer enough for the new type of economic thinking. This is why the Institute for the Advanced Training of National Economic Specialists has organized courses in which different groups of ministerial and enterprise workers undergo training. Moreover they do so with leave from production. Section chiefs of the ministry and the Planning and Design Technological Institute, shop chiefs and chief engineers, economists and planners have already completed their training. Next up are the specialists in supply, standards and others. In addition study of the provisions of the experiment has been included in the program for local schools of economic education and schools of communist labor. Seminars are conducted on individual problems. In a word, almost all laborers and white collar workers are acquainted with the conditions of the experiment, and this is having a positive influence on practice.

There is one other goal which we posed to ourselves: to see that the experiment would operate as a important socioeconomic factor. Did we attain this goal or not? We feel that there can be no difference of opinion here. Because most laborers and specialists have come to understand the difficulties and especially the internal shortcomings of the plants more keenly, and to react to them more efficiently. Impatience with organizational mistakes and losses of work time has grown in the collectives.

The local soviets have provided considerable assistance in conducting the experiment. They are keenly interested in the good work of our enterprises. City soviets of deputies in major centers such as Vilnius, Kaunas, Panevezys

and others were promptly and extensively informed of the changes occurring in the sector's work. A council of economists was specially created by the Panevezys City Executive Committee. It is staffed by economists from all of the city's enterprises. The competent specialists attentively analyze the problems arising in connection with the experiment.

I would like to mention the good contribution made to the overall cause by the deputy group of the Neringa Association. Much thought was devoted here to the effectiveness of creative initiative, to material interest in all production units, and to the independence granted to the collective. Before going to the shops and holding explanatory discussions there, a seminar was organized on the initiative of A. I. Dudovich, leader of the production deputy group. Vilnius City Soviet Deputy A. Yu. Matulyavichus, the association director and a member of this group, thoroughly described the essence of work in the new way to the audience. Then the deputies held discussions in the shops. The result of this approach speaks for itself. The collective not only came to recognize the importance of the future experiment, but it also tuned itself to getting the most from what the experiment promised. Both the association's plan for 1984 and the socialist pledges it adopted significantly exceed the control figures for the five-year plan. Last year's production will be exceeded by a million rubles. Inasmuch as the experiment stimulates production of goods out of production wastes and secondary raw materials, a decision was made to surpass this indicator by a factor of 2. Plans have been made to increase other indicators as well.

This major experiment is gathering momentum as a result of the organizational, economic and educational work that has been carried out, and as a result of the competition that has assumed wide scope. The results of the first half of the year already showed that the action of the new economic levers and stimuli, growth in the initiative and responsibility of the workers and reinforcement of labor discipline and order at production are positively affecting the end result. As an example for the first time in several years the product sales plan was 100 percent completed, with regard for contracted deliveries (the figure for the first half of 1983 was 98.9 percent). The ministry also successfully fulfilled its profit quota. But it would be especially important to note that sales plans were fulfilled by all enterprises without exception. Labor productivity is growing as well. The increment in production volume attained 100 percent as a result, as compared to the quota of 88.9 percent. The proportion of products in the top quality category is now 14.7 percent, as compared to the planned 13.1 percent, while the proportion with respect to the total volume of products subject to certification is 25.4 percent.

Socialist pledges and counterplans for additional growth in labor productivity of 1 percent and for reduction of product cost by half a percent adopted by the labor collectives of the enterprises were also surpassed.

As far as other of the ministry's technical-economic indicators are concerned, they also are higher than for the same period of last year. The primary result was expansion of the assortment of goods and fuller satisfaction of the population's demands. During this time, 38 new consumer goods, 288 souvenirs and craft articles were prepared for production and placed into production, surpassing

the established quotas. This approach made it possible to renew the assortment of products more widely than last year.

Application of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress and measures to introduce progressive technology and to automate and mechanize production processes were responsible for the high results to some extent. Moreover, all of this was accompanied by a decrease in the material resources consumption norms, by an increase in the shift coefficient of equipment use and by an improvement in product quality.

It should be noted that material and technical resources are now being supplied to us in better fashion. For the first time in many years the ministry's enterprises are fully supplied (by 100 percent and more) with rolled ferrous metals, paints and varnishes, linens and silk fabrics. Nonetheless there still are exceptions. In particular, cotton combines--the Orekhovo-Zuyevskiy and the Krasnyy Oktyabr', located in Vichugskiy Rayon, Ivanovo Oblast--let us down. Their deliveries of raincoat fabric to us were short by 19,000 meters, or 70 percent of the allocated amount.

Nonetheless our collectives tried to consolidate and multiply their accomplishments. The production volume plan for the first half of the year was 101.6 percent completed. The quota for product sales with regard for contracted deliveries and the profit quota were satisfied as well. Growth in labor productivity, an important indicator, was surpassed. Mention should also be made of fulfillment of the plan for producing products in the top quality category--111.7 percent. The ministry's half-year plan foresaw assimilating 498 new consumer goods, souvenirs and craft articles. The actual amount was 560.

Work in the presence of stable economic standards also promoted successful fulfillment of the quotas of the first half of the year. These stable conditions made it possible to form stimulation funds and use them for the enterprises' reequipment and social development. Indicative in this respect is the experience of the Panevezys Elektrotehnika Plant. The enterprise, which produced household light fixtures, has already surpassed its planned output capacities by a factor of 2, and its products enjoy high demand. But the board of directors was troubled by a certain question: How were they to progress when the shops were cramped and manual labor dominated?

There was but one solution--reconstruction. Therefore a decision was made to expand the plant and to reequip it. It would be interesting to note in this regard that before the experiment began, the pace of the work at the construction site was nothing to brag about. But this year the work is proceeding ahead of schedule. We explain this by growth in responsibility for the fate of the experiment and attention to the project on the part of local authorities. The latter established strict control over the progress of reconstruction. This same situation can now be found at other enterprises as well.

Analyzing the first steps of the experiment--and they are encouraging--I would like to make special mention of the great assistance rendered to us by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers and local party and soviet organs. Thus

at one of its bureau meetings in April, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee gave audience to our report on the results of the ministry's work in the first quarter in the conditions of the economic experiment. The bureau members delved into our problems with a sense of understanding and recommended that we intensify our attention to the quality of our products, that we show more concern for the sector's workers and that we create optimum conditions for their labor, personal life and rest. All the more so because this was specially stipulated in the provisions of the experiment.

During one of its meetings the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet considered the question as to compliance with laws regulating the labor of women in the Dovana Craft and Souvenir Production Association. Association director B. I. Vintis gave a report. The Presidium members were also acquainted with the materials of an inspection conducted by a permanent commission on labor and life of women and protection of motherhood and childhood of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Dovana is the largest association in our ministry. Its enterprises will put out 42 million rubles worth of consumer goods this year. The product assortment is being increased here, and its artistic level is rising. Many articles made from local raw materials and industrial wastes are enjoying higher demand both in our country and abroad. They are exported to 12 countries.

The association's enterprises employ many women. Many do their work at home. In order to make it easier for them to work, shops, sections and reception points have been created in 30 of the republic's rayons. And naturally, the question arises: What are the working conditions in them? For the moment, it was noted at the Presidium's meeting, they do not satisfy modern requirements everywhere yet. Named in this connection were the weaving shop of a Vilnius artistic article enterprise, and a polishing and varnishing shop in Druskininkai. Poor work by special transportation and a shortage of spare parts and tools for hand weaving and sewing machines often interfere with utilization of the reserves of cottage industry. We need to introduce some order and establish a limit on the number of laborers and white collar workers in the enterprises of the Ministry of Local Industry.

The Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet has obligated us to utilize in proper fashion the possibilities offered in the course of the experiment for intensifying production and improving labor organization. And I must say that much has already been done in this regard. The work of the transportation shop has improved. Steps are being taken to organize uninterrupted supply of materials and raw materials, and other problems are being solved.

We also receive considerable assistance from the republic's government, which is attentively monitoring the course of the experiment. Information on how our work is proceeding under the new conditions was presented at a meeting of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

Attention was turned to the need for raising the role of the soviets in the life of our society in every possible way during the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in the First Session, 11th Convocation of the USSR Supreme



Soviet. New tasks are being posed to state government organs concerned with fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the party Central Committee, including ones pertaining to control of the national economy. In contact with local soviet organs, we are seeking ways to successfully fulfill the tasks of the economic experiment and the production plans of 1984 and the five-year plan as a whole.

Take as an example the republic's capital--Vilnius. Five of the ministry's enterprises are located here. The city soviet and its organs are perpetually interested in their work. The planning commission of the city executive committee recently listened to reports from deputy directors for economic work of the Neringa and Dovana associations. Executives from all of the city's enterprises were invited to the meeting. It was recommended to them that they study the experience of the experiment participants and, without waiting for any further instructions, introduce all useful and sensible ideas at their own enterprises. It was also recommended that they show special concern for instilling modern economic thinking in the workers, for improving working conditions and for developing the infrastructure.

After this, the Leninskiy Rayon Executive Committee in Vilnius studied the efforts of the Neringa Cultural Goods Production Association to increase production of articles out of wastes and secondary raw materials in the conditions of the economic experiment.

The permanent commission for industry of the Kaunas City Soviet discussed fulfillment of quotas for production of consumer goods by the Nyamunas Association. It was established that not all of the association's products were profitable, and that it was dragging its heels in mechanizing laborious processes. The question as to the ways of eliminating these shortcomings was placed on the agenda of a meeting of the city executive committee. The decision that was arrived at by joint efforts made it possible to significantly improve the state of affairs.

We can now assert that the articles produced at the enterprise have improved in quality. Semiautomatic machines have been introduced in the shops, and the freight handling section has been mechanized. Naturally all of this had a reflection on more than just the production indicators: The work of the laborers became more attractive.

In this connection I would also like to mention the efforts of the Shvenchenskiy Rayon Executive Committee. After discussing the work of a collective working in the vicinity of the Zheymyana Clothing Factory at one of its meetings, it rendered assistance to it in building housing and in supplying raw materials for production.

As the saying goes, much can be learned from good examples. And sometimes much depends on personal example in successful completion of the economic experiment. The production deputy group of the Metallistas Plant is headed by engineer P. I. Shpokyavichus. It has a membership of only five deputies, but their contribution to the work of the plant collective is sizable. The tone is set in work by the group leader himself, P. I. Shpokyavichus. Questions discussed at its meetings



are distinguished by urgency and acuity. Their resolution in many ways promotes improvement of the mood of the people and the successful work of the enterprise.

It was on the recommendation and with the active support of the deputies that a dining hall was promptly renovated in one of the shops and that the work of cafeterias and the Kulinariya store was reorganized in the plant as a whole. It was owing to their assistance that molding of articles without mold frames was introduced. Prior to this, two workers made 360 mold frames in a shift, while now an automatic machine does the same in an hour. The deputies placed erection of a cast iron skillet production section under their control. Our republic's buyers are awaiting this salable article. There is confidence that the work will be completed in time, within the fourth quarter of this year.

However, we can sense not only positive but also less brilliant aspects of the economic experiment. There are problems and questions arising which must be solved by higher organs and the appropriate ministries and departments. In particular no one has yet determined the schedule for wholesale fairs, and a positive decision has not yet been reached on a proposal for allocating additional capital investments to the ministry for reequipment of its production operations: The investments at our disposal are half of what are required.

We need more-flexible and efficient communication with trade. As an example the USSR Ministry of Trade refused to sell, in the needed assortment, silk fabrics allocated to this sector by the USSR Gosplan worth a total of 1.5 million rubles out of surpluses possessed by the wholesalers. Certain trade organizations systematically refuse to take delivery of goods they had purchased at wholesale fairs. Just in the first quarter of this year refusals were submitted on 22 names of articles worth almost 2 million rubles (feather pillows, artificial karakul coats, wooden set squares, drawing boards and others). Concurrently a decree of the union government compels our ministry's enterprises to produce even more of such articles. How can we get around this problem?

There are also a number of issues associated with paying bonuses to workers for producing goods bearing the State Seal of Quality and reducing intermediate indicators in, for example, production of crafts and souvenirs. We are very limited in this area. But as long as the ministry has been granted extensive rights in general, it must assume coordination of all internal problems.

Such are some of the problems that require solution. By solving them, we will be able to move forward even faster on the path of intensive development of the economy, and satisfy the demand for consumer goods more fully. Comrade K. U. Chernenko said the following in a speech at the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "We have arrived at an extremely important period of the five-year plan, in which the count-down is proceeding on a month-by-month basis. Moreover the position is such that we cannot do without further growth in the intensity of our economic work."

Those words ring so true. It is only through competent and efficient organization of the work and through attention to economic needs that we can successfully complete the five-year plan. This is to a great extent the objective of this major experiment.

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REGIONAL

INTERVIEW WITH TURKMEN EDUCATION OFFICIAL ON REFORMS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with V. M. Morozov, chief of the City Department of Public Education, by correspondent V. Zarembo; date and place not specified: "The Steps of Reform"]

[Text] More than half a year has passed since the publication of the Basic Directions of the Reform of the General Education and the Professional-Technical School. Throughout the country work has begun on the realization of this document of the party and the state, which has been approved by the people. What is being done in the schools of Ashkhabad and how the contemplated program is being implemented--this is the subject of a discussion of our correspondent, V. Zarembo, with the chief of the City Department of Public Education, V. M. Morozov.

[Question] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, in the Basic Directions of the Reform, quite a lot is said about the labor training of school children. One can even say that this is one of the main problems of the school reform. How is it being solved today?

[Answer] Yes, the labor training of school children is one of our first and foremost concerns. It is no accident that it was moved into the foreground in the reform. The content of the labor training of the children in the city schools for the time being, unfortunately, does not meet the necessary requirements. The teachers of the labor disciplines do not always have plans that are clearly developed, and the very types of work being performed by the school children at times have an unsystematic character. Hence a reduction in the effectiveness of labor training. In other words, the school children must gradually and steadily receive labor habits, constantly improve their knowledge in the sphere of the metalworker's and joiner's business, in the mastery of other workers' professions in the labor lessons. All of this must begin in the lowest classes. The school itself must decide what is to be studied in the labor lessons in their own studies and workshops. We are now developing plans for labor training and on this basis will judge how productive and effective the labor training of the school children will be during the current academic year.

[Question] Toward the end of the training, the children must work in an industry and understand what this is. The documents on the reform state that the executive committees of the Soviets and the enterprises are obligated to find jobs for the school children. How is the relationship with the labor collectives being implemented?

[Answer] The question is not an easy one, and to answer it is equally difficult. In this sphere of our business, things are not at all in good shape. Not all schools in Ashkhabad have as yet their base enterprises. The base enterprises in which our school children work and do their practical work, do not always approach their training with the requisite attention. The directors at times manifest indifference and brush the school children aside. They say, we must fulfill the plan, and we must not mess around with children. If they give the children equipment, they give them old models, obsolescent ones. This applies to all enterprises of the Sovetskiy Rayon. The children, in their turn, acutely feel such an attitude of indifference toward them, and any desire to work in the industry is lost as far as they are concerned. The value of professional orientation work is also reduced.

In light of this, our task is to establish a close relationship with the plants. At the present time, an effort is underway in the base enterprises to try to find specialists who would be responsible for the production practice of the school children. These people will be a kind of plenipotentiary of the school in the industry. All organizational and educational questions will be solved with their direct participation. Of course, all of this will not be solved at once or suddenly. I think that there will still be quite a bit of friction between school and industry. We will have to overcome the great force of inertia, but we have a party document in our hands, which it is impossible to brush aside and whose solution we are obligated to carry out together. Only in this way can success in the labor training of school children be attained, can a taste for labor be fostered in the children, and can they be oriented toward workers' professions.

Incidentally, about professional orientation. Professional orientation rooms will not be created both in the schools, in study-production combines, and in enterprises, taking into account their specific character. The workers of the enterprises themselves will be the methodologists.

[Question] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, what can be said with respect to the training of children beginning at age sixteen? How will this be implemented in the schools of Ashkhabad?

[Answer] The transfer of children to training beginning at age sixteen will begin in our city in 1986. At the present time, people in the TuSSR Scientific Research Institute for Pedagogical Sciences have begun with the development of academic programs for teachers of the beginning classes, who will work with 16-year-old children, as well as textbooks for school children of these classes. It must be said that at this time not only sixteen year olds come to the school, but also children who at the moment of transfer are reaching the age of seven (this will only be in the first year). The influx of school children is growing, and that means that the extent of the classes being filled will become a

problem with the teachers. In order to relieve the classes, annexes to the schools will be created. Well, and what next, of course, we will build new schools. As far as the teachers of the beginning classes are concerned, we are now ascertaining in the kindergartens of the city the number of educators who have a secondary pedagogical education and experience in working with children, for further (with their consent) work in the schools. It is natural that courses for improving their qualifications will be organized for them. Moreover, preparatory groups will operate in the kindergartens, and for children not attending kindergartens, so-called "zero" classes in the schools.

[Question] The Basic Directions of the Reform state that in some regions of the country it is necessary to devote more attention to the study of the Russian language. What, in your opinion, must be done in order for Turkmen young boys and young girls to leave the schools with a good knowledge of the Russian language?

[Answer] I am deeply convinced that we must create more mixed schools--Russian and Turkmen schools. As practice shows, it is precisely in such schools, in the intercourse with Russian children, that their comrades will learn the Russian language. Moreover, it is necessary for the teaching to be conducted in parallel fashion, and not in a manner where in the first shift Russian children are taught, and in the second--Turkmen children. At present a new school--the 23rd--is being built in Ashkhabad, in which there will be mixed teaching. It will begin to operate during the coming year. There will also be mixed teaching in School No 28.

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REGIONAL

MOLDAVIAN SUPREME SOVIET MEETS ON ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Dec 84 pp 1-2

[Report on proceedings of the 10th Session, 10th Convocation, of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet held in Kishinev 14 December: "On the Path of Development and Progress"]

[Text] ATEM--Workers of the republic, as well as all the Soviet people, are entering the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, putting into practice the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress amidst a high political and labor upsurge. The results of the October (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the speech by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, and materials of the USSR Supreme Soviet session have stirred their warm, heartfelt response.

The 10th Session, 10th Convocation, of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet was held in Kishinev 14 December.

Deputies greeted with prolonged applause Comrades P. V. Voronin, S. K. Grossu, G. I. Yeremey, Ye. P. Kalenik, I. P. Kalin, V. K. Kiktenko, P. P. Petrik, B. N. Savochko, V. I. Smirnov, G. A. Stepanov, I. G. Ustiyan, G. M. Volkov and S. S. Sidorenko.

The session was opened by Deputy P. P. Botsu, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet unanimously approves the following agenda:

1. On the State Economic and Social Development Plan of the Moldavian SSR for 1985 and on the course of fulfillment of the State Economic and Social Development Plan of the Moldavian SSR in 1984.
2. On the State Budget of the Moldavian SSR for 1985 and on execution of the State Budget of the Moldavian SSR for 1983.
3. Approval of the Ukases of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and information on the activity of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet in the period following the Ninth Session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The session considered an organizational matter.

In connection with the assignment of Deputy V. A. Protsenko as MSSR minister of the fruit and vegetable industry, the decision is made to release him from duties as deputy chairman of the MSSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputy V. G. Kutyarkin, deputy chairman of the MSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the MSSR Gosplan, delivered the report "On the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan for 1985 and on the course of fulfillment of the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan in 1984."

Deputy I. A. Savvin, MSSR minister of finance, delivered the report "On the MSSR State Budget for 1985 and on execution of the MSSR State Budget for 1983."

Then the floor was given to Deputy D. G. Gutsu, deputy chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, for the joint report "On the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan for 1985 and on the course of fulfillment of the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan in 1984, on the MSSR State Budget for 1985 and on execution of the MSSR State Budget for 1983."

An inquiry was addressed to Deputy V. P. Russu, MSSR minister of communications, by the Transport and Communications Commission and the Youth Affairs Commission of the MSSR Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet included the inquiry by the permanent commissions of the MSSR Supreme Soviet in the session agenda, and after considering agenda matters approved previously, instructed that Deputy V. P. Russu, MSSR minister of communications, be given the floor for information on measures being taken by the ministry on the matter touched upon in the permanent commissions' inquiry.

Speaking in debates on the first and second questions on the agenda were deputies N. A. Kutkovetskiy, first secretary of the party's Floreshtskiy Raykom; G. P. Shevchenko, refiner at the Bendery Oil Extraction Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR; A. I. Burbulya, first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Kishinev City Soviet of People's Deputies; M. F. Lupashku, MSSR minister of agriculture; D. I. Muntyan, first secretary of the party's Kriulyanskiy Raykom; L. I. Manolova, machine milking foreman from the Pobeda kolkhoz in Tarakliyskiy Rayon; N. N. Luk'yanov, MSSR minister of viticulture and winemaking; N. I. Uzun, MSSR minister of construction; A. P. Savchenko, general manager of the Bel'tsy production association Moldsel'mash; Ye. S. Dobryanskaya, chief of the Voronkovskiy branch of the Rybnitsa centralized library system; M. I. Krushelinskiy, first secretary of the party's Sholdaneshtskiy Raykom; L. I. Polyakova, radio equipment assembler at Kishinev's Signal plant; Ye. G. Buruyane, worker in the gardening and viticulture brigade of the Sovkhoz-Plant imeni Suvorov in Teleneshtskiy Rayon; and K. A. Draganyuk, MSSR minister of health.

The motion to end the debates is approved unanimously.

Deputy V. G. Kutyrkin, deputy chairman of the MSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the MSSR Gosplan, delivered the concluding address "On the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan for 1985 and on the course of fulfillment of the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan in 1984."

The Supreme Soviet unanimously approved the Law of the Moldavian SSR "On the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan for 1985" and the decree of the MSSR Supreme Soviet "On the course of fulfillment of the MSSR State Economic and Social Development Plan in 1984."

Deputy I. A. Savvin, MSSR minister of finance, delivered the concluding address "On the MSSR State Budget for 1985 and on execution of the MSSR State Budget for 1983."

The session unanimously approved the Law of the Moldavian SSR "On the MSSR State Budget for 1985" and the decree of the MSSR Supreme Soviet "On approval of the report on execution of the MSSR State Budget for 1983."

Deputy A. V. Mel'nik, secretary of the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, delivered a report on the third item on the agenda--"Approval of the Ukases of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and information on the activity of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet in the period following the Ninth Session of the MSSR Supreme Soviet."

The session approved the corresponding Law and decree.

Deputy V. P. Russu, MSSR minister of communications, presented information in accordance with the inquiry by permanent commissions of the MSSR Supreme Soviet.

The decree in accordance with the inquiry by MSSR Supreme Soviet commissions is approved.

With this the 10th Session, 10th Convocation, of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR concluded its work.

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REGIONAL

SHORTCOMINGS IN PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEES NOTED

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 27 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] Ashkhabad. 26 December. (State Information Agency attached to the TuSSR Council of Ministers). A meeting of the active membership of the TuSSR People's Control Committee took place. N. V. Makarkin, member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, chairman of the TuSSR People's Control Committee, presented a report entitled "The Tasks of the Organs of the TuSSR People's Control Committee Which Emanate from the Speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko".

The speaker, the deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, V. I. Manayev, who spoke, and others noted that the workers of the republic, in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the last Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, having broadly developed socialist competition for a worthy welcome to the glorious anniversary of the republic--the 60th anniversary of the formation of the TuSSR and the creation of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, and the 100th anniversary of the voluntary entry of Turkmenistan into the composition of Russia, have attained high production indicators. The people's control committees of the republic have made their contribution to the achievement of these successes. The patrollers do quite a lot to strengthen discipline, order and organization in the labor collectives, and for the strict observance of socialist legality. There has been an improvement in the publicity of the work of the organs of people's control. Labor collectives are being informed on a regular basis about the results of check-ups and the measures taken with respect to them, and there is presse, radio and television coverage.

At the same time, it was noted that there are important shortcomings and omissions in the work of the organs of people's control of the republic. Some committees of people's control exert insufficient influence on the solution of the tasks of economic and socio-cultural construction, the increase of production efficiency and work quality, the strengthening of economical operation, and the reinforcement of state, labor and execution discipline.

Some committees, groups and posts of people's control are exercising inadequate control over the fulfillment of the measures aimed at the growth of labor productivity and the reduction of production cost, the increase of the capital-output ratio, the timely introduction of equipment, and the increase of the coefficient of its utilization.

M. G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, delivered a speech at the meeting of the active membership. He especially called attention to the necessity of increasing, in every conceivable way, the effectiveness of the control work and concentrating their efforts on the key questions that determine the further development of the economy and culture of the republic. It is necessary for the patrollers to show more insistence and more principled resolve in the matter of strengthening state and labor discipline, order and organization, the reduction of working time losses, and the strict observance of legality in all links of production and administration. An appropriate decree was adopted at the meeting of the active membership.

The following took part in the meeting: The members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan P. Annaorazov, A. S. Boyko, Ch. S. Karryyev, G. S. Mishchenko, G. S. Mishchenko, A. I. Rachkov, M. A. Charyyev, M. G. Shmidt, B. Yazkuliyeu, and candidate member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, O. I. Ishankuliyeu.

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